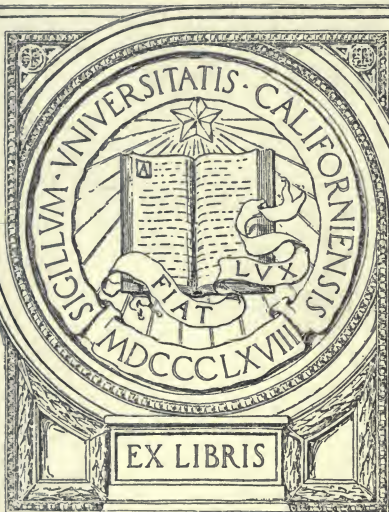


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The Bishop Paddock Lectures, 1881

STUDIES

ON THE

ENGLISH REFORMATION

BY

J. WILLIAMS, D.D.

BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT



NEW YORK
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THE BISHOP PADDOCK LECTURES.

IN the summer of the year 1880, GEORGE A. JARVIS of Brooklyn, N. Y., moved by his sense of the great good which might thereby accrue to the cause of CHRIST and to the Church, of which he was an ever grateful member, gave to the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church certain securities exceeding in value eleven thousand dollars for the foundation and maintenance of a Lectureship in said Seminary.

Out of love to a former Pastor and enduring friend, the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Henry Paddock, D.D., Bishop of Massachusetts, he named his Foundation "THE BISHOP PADDOCK LECTURESHIP."

The deed of trust declares that:

"*The subjects of the Lectures shall be such as appertain to the defence of the religion of JESUS CHRIST, as revealed in the Holy Bible and illustrated in the Book of Common Prayer against the varying errors of the day, whether materialistic, rationalistic, or professedly religious, and also to its defence and confirmation in respect of such central truths as the Trinity, the Atonement, Justification and the Inspiration of the Word of God and of such central facts as the Church's Divine Order and Sacraments, her historical Reformation and her rights and powers as a pure and National Church. And other subjects may be chosen if unanimously approved by the Board of Appointment as being both timely and also within the true intent of this Lectureship.*"

Under the appointment of the Board created by the Trust, viz., the Dean of the General Theological Seminary and the Bishops respectively of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Long Island, the Rt. Rev. John Williams, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Connecticut, delivered the Lectures for the year 1881 contained in this volume.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THERE are some things which I very much desire to say in the way of preface to the following lectures.

I owe it to myself to state that the request from the Founder of the Lectureship that I would be the first lecturer, and adding the subject which he wished me to take up, came to me before I was, by the terms of the deed of endowment, appointed one of those trustees empowered to select a lecturer. I was not concerned in the act of election.

Secondly, I must beg to remind any readers I may have, that to one writing in this country on the English Reformation original documents are inaccessible. All one can do is to use all care and diligence to obtain information from sources worthy of trust; to "verify references" as far as possible; and to take nothing on any one's unverified assertion. This course is, no doubt, a humbling one, in that it shuts him who adopts it up to a narrow path and leaves little

room for imagination, and still less for originality. But it is the only honest course notwithstanding its lowliness. I have referred, as far as possible, to books accessible to students of theology.

Thirdly, the lectures, printed here as five, were by stress of time and place delivered as four. A good deal therefore which now appears was omitted in the delivery.

Lastly, lectures must, unavoidably, contain repetitions of facts if not of arguments which would, under other circumstances be inadmissible. I have tried, as far as possible, to avoid them.

J. W.

April, 1881.

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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING

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LECTURE I.

THE GENERAL CALL FOR REFORMATION—
ITS CAUSES AND POSSIBLE METHODS.



STUDIES ON THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

LECTURE I.

THE GENERAL CALL FOR REFORMATION—ITS CAUSES AND POSSIBLE METHODS.

I CANNOT begin the first course of lectures on the excellent foundation established by one whose good deeds to the Church have been manifold, without at least a few words of thankfulness and congratulation. Such foundations as this have been a real, and, among those who think of such matters at all, a deeply felt need in our Church, especially in her institutions for theological training. The double purpose which they serve, first of inducing students to give themselves, diligently and carefully, to special lines of investigation, and, next, of enabling them to give, to the best of their abilities, the results of such special studies to those who may be aided by them, can scarcely be overvalued. While, therefore,

both personally and officially, I venture to express my thankfulness to the founder of this Lecture, I cannot but congratulate the venerable Institution with which it is connected, on the possession of an instrumentality which may be made so available to the best interests of careful study in Divinity.

The subject which was assigned to me, when I was honored with the appointment that brings me here, was the ENGLISH REFORMATION. I have not supposed that it thus became my duty to attempt to present to you a chronologically arranged sketch of the history of the period which those two words cover. It has seemed to me, that the end intended could be better reached by some examination of the underlying principles which, with whatever obscurations, from time to time in individual minds, or even in the minds of bodies of men, really shaped the work; by endeavoring to point out the lines and methods on and by which results were attained; by exhibiting the character of some of those results; by attempting to discriminate between things that really belong

to the work of reform and those that do not, and to relegate the latter to their proper place; in a word, by a selection of topics rather than a mere consecutive narration of events. And now, without further preface, let me address myself to my work.

A question that meets us at the very outset of our inquiries is this: What proof is there of any wide-spread conviction, at the beginning of the sixteenth century and earlier, that a reformation was necessary? It is said, the mere sudden outbreak of an individual here or there, the mere sudden movement of even a number of persons cannot afford sufficient evidence of such a pervading conviction. Such outbreaks and such movements are not of infrequent occurrence in the world's history. You can no more judge of the intellectual and moral atmosphere of a period by them, than you can judge of the atmospheric conditions of a vast country by the storms or tornadoes of isolated districts. A passing tumult on the surface of the ocean is not its groundswell. Without stopping to consider the limitations or modi-

fications with which these statements are to be accepted, it may still be doubted whether the question which gives rise to them has always received the attention it deserves. I believe that its consideration is a condition precedent to the intelligent study of any and all methods of reformation adopted in the sixteenth century.

It is fortunate that history gives a direct and unmistakable answer to this question. The very abundance of material is, indeed, a source of embarrassment. To collect it would be to compile volumes. To select from it is not an easy task. The testimony comes from "all sorts and conditions of men;" from the loftiest as well as the lowliest in ecclesiastical place and station. Time and space forbid me to do more than to call your attention to the long list of names—not of querulous and discontented *doctrinaires*, but—of men of mark, and acknowledged power, who, for centuries preceding the sixteenth, demand, in tones that cannot be mistaken, the reformation of the Church.

As far back as the twelfth century, St Ber-

nard—called the last of the Fathers—said, “Who will grant me to see, before I die, the Church of God as it was in the ancient days?”¹ And this cry had gathered strength and emphasis in the centuries that followed. It was heard in 1409, at Pisa, with its pledge, alas! unfulfilled, of purification in “Head and members;” at Constance, in 1414, in sermons than which no utterances can be more distinct, in Gerson’s catalogue of abuses, and in what we should call a Committee on Reformation, though it was then termed a “Reformation College;” at Basle, in 1431, when propositions for a reformation of the Church were submitted to the then Pontiff by Henry VI., King of England.

If we turn from Councils to individual divines, we are confronted with a long list of illustrious names. I will only, however, recall to you those of Gerson, the preachers at Constance, Contarini, Sadolet and other members of what was known as the “Oratory of Divine Love,” on the continent of Europe; and of

¹ “*Ep. ad Eugen.*,” ccxxxviii. 6.

Grostête,² Bradwardine, Fitzalph¹ and Colet in England. If I do not mention Jerome of Prague, John Huss, Wickliffe and others, it is only because I would name none to whose testimony those who deny any necessity of a reformation can, on any ground, object. If to those we add the numerous names of theologians and other scholars that come to the notice of one studying the history of the three centuries preceding the Reformation, we have an array of testimony that is simply overwhelming.³ Bossuet attempts—and others have followed him—to break the force of this testimony by asserting that the conclusion drawn from it “is a manifest deceit.” He says, “not one of these doctors even for once thought of changing the faith of the Church, or of correcting her worship, which chiefly consisted in the sacrifice of the altar, or of subverting the authority of her prelates, and chiefly that of the Pope.”⁴

² See his tremendous indictment of the Roman Court in Perry's “Life of Grostête,” c. x.

³ Hardwick on the Articles c. i. sec. i. ⁴ “Variations,” bk. i. 2.

But this, however specious it may be, is the merest perversion of the truth. Practical evils in the Church have, as a rule, their roots in doctrine. How could the shameful sale of indulgences and masses have been reformed without touching doctrinal teaching concerning the intermediate state? How could such a scandal as the offering in one year of nearly a thousand pounds at the altar of Thomas à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral, when during the same period not one penny was offered at the altar of our Lord—how could such a scandal have been abated, and yet nothing have been said as to saintly intercession and invocation? I adduce but two instances, where many more might have been presented; but these two are enough to prove that the words of Bossuet are idle words. How idle they are, the very action of the Tridentine Council shows, where it was agreed “that Faith and Discipline should be treated of simultaneously.”⁵

⁵ Buckley’s “History of the Council of Trent,” part ii. c. iv. Pallavicini, “Hist.,” etc. lib. vi. c. vii.

As to his further assertion that there was no purpose of touching the papacy and its claims, if that were true what means the pledge at Pisa of purification in the *Head* and members of the Church? What mean the words of Gerson, the great chancellor of the University of Paris, when he says, making a strange distinction between the Catholic and the Apostolic Church, that of the former "the Pope cannot be called the head, nor ought to be the head, but only Christ's vicar provided, nevertheless that the keys err not; and in this Church, and in its faith, every man may be saved, although, in all the world, no Pope should be found"? Or again, when he says, "There is another called the *Apostolic Church*, particular and private, included in the Catholic Church, composed of the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, and Ecclesiastics. This is wont to be called the Roman Church, of which the Pope is believed to be the head; but the other Ecclesiastics are included in it. This Church can err, can deceive and be deceived, can

fall into schism and heresy, can cease to be"? Or, once more, when he says, "The Pope, as Pope is man, and as man so is he Pope, and as Pope he can sin, and as man he can err"?⁶ The way in which so great a theologian confounds the *Curia Romana* with the Apostolic Church, sad and wretched as it is, is nothing to us here: but who can say, in the face of such declarations, that no reform was thought of which would have touched the papacy? Let me add, before I leave this matter, that Gerson in 1410 spoke no more strongly than Adrian VI. in 1522. These are his words: "I say first, that if by the Roman Church is understood its head, that is the Pontiff, it is certain that he can err, even in matters pertaining to Faith, in asserting heresy by determination or decretal. For many Roman Pontiffs have been heretics."⁷ How strangely would these words of Pope and Doctor have struck on the ears

⁶ See the passages, quoted, with many others by Gieseler, Hist. vol. iii. p. 222. Am. Ed.

⁷ See Hardwick's "Reformation," p. 349, n. 5. First Ed.

of the prelates of the Vatican¹ Council of 1870! How do they shew what "new fashions in religion" pervade the Roman Church to-day! How do they contradict the specious words of Bossuet, words so unworthy of the eagle of Meaux! We are warranted, then, in saying that for more than three centuries before the Reformation there was a demand for reform in the Western Church so wide-spread as to be virtually universal; and that the demand involved not merely reform in life and discipline, but in doctrine, in worship, and in the constitution of the Church with and under the papacy.

Standing, now, on this unquestionable fact, we look two ways. We look back, and ask for the causes of this cry for reformation. We look forward, and inquire for the methods by which its attainment was attempted. First, then, let us look at the causes, and next at the methods.

And, just here, in speaking of causes, let me say a word as to the importance in historical studies of carefully distinguishing be-

tween causes and occasions. An occasion furnishes the opportunity for action; but the causes of the action always lie further back, and did they not exist the occasion would pass unheeded. There is no error more common, none more disastrous to all true study of history, than this confusion of cause and occasion. As it will be necessary to recur to it again, I content myself with this bare statement here.

From the manifold causes which wrought together to produce the demand for reformation, I shall select three—I believe the three most energetic and far-reaching—for examination. This selection must not be regarded as exhaustive; I trust it may be suggestive.

And first, as to the papacy. No Roman Pontiff ever advanced loftier claims than did Boniface VIII., when, in 1302, he addressed to the whole Christian world the Bull *Unam Sanctam*; which (if there *can* be such a thing), is a cathedral utterance infallible and irreformable. Not Gregory VII. nor Innocent III.,

in their boldest declarations, ever went beyond the sweeping assertions of that astounding document. If words have any meaning, it teaches the subjection of all temporal power to the spiritual as concentrated in the Pope; and the further subjection to him of every human being on pain of damnation.⁸

The two centuries that followed that culminating point for the Papacy witnessed its rapid and sure decline. The removal to Avignon took from it the prestige of the eternal city and the tomb of St. Peter. The seventy years' sojourn in that luxurious city brought more clearly to the light of day the corruptions and the cruelties of the papal court, and exhibited the Supreme Pontiff as the puppet of the French king, with some occasional intervention of the

⁸ See the bull quoted and condensed by Fleury, "Hist. Eccl.," lib. xc. c. xviii.; and compare his attempted explanations with the remarks of Archbishop Kenrick, in his "*Concio habenda at non habita in Concilio Vaticano.*" This last is printed in Prof. Friedrich's "*Documenta ad illustrandum,*" etc., I. Abtheilung, p. 189. A good translation of it is given in "An Inside View of the Vatican Council." See also, Hussey, "Rise of the Papal Power," p. 177.

German emperor. The great schism, lasting as it did through forty years, gave a still ruder shock to men's reverence for the papacy. How indeed could it retain in people's eyes the divinity with which it had hedged itself, when the scandalous spectacle of rival claimants (numbering at one time three) to the royalties and privileges of Peter, was patent to the world, while different sovereigns and nations attached themselves to the different claimants? Just at this moment, too, the nations of modern Europe were consolidating and settling their national life; so that this state of things "could not fail to give an impulse, hitherto unknown in calling up the nationality of many a western state, in satisfying it that the papal rule was not essential to its welfare, and in thereby adding strength to local jurisdictions."⁹ How strong this impulse was may be seen in the fact that at the Council of Constance (1417), the vote was not taken by individuals but by nations, namely the English, German, French, and

⁹ Hardwick.

Italian. That method of voting¹ was the precursor of national reformations. To this must be added the personal character of many of the popes themselves.¹⁰ In this rapid sketch I cannot undertake to name them, nor is it needful. To one who has waded through the details of vileness, the allusion is enough. To one who has not, the statement of the fact may well suffice. The result was that, for a far longer period before the actual reformation than we are apt to think, the illusions that begirt the papacy were disappearing, its pretensions were questioned and sometimes despised, and its powers were limited and checked.

It is obvious to name, as a second cause of the demand for reformation, the revival of letters and the impulse given by it to human intellect. There are, however, certain aspects of this subject which, common-place as the

¹⁰ Mr. Blunt says, "For sixty years before the final breach was made, there had not been a pope, except Clement VII., who could be called *even a decent Christian*." He gives, also, details, "Reformation," p. 242.

subject itself may seem, are worth noticing somewhat in detail.

The revival of learning in Italy, "and at that time Italy clearly led in everything," was in its temper and spirit simply pagan. Turn to the Decameron of Boccacio, "saturated from top to toe with the pagan spirit." Listen to an eclogue of Geraldini on the Passion, in which "our Blessed Lord is spoken of under the name of Daphnis; and 'Daphnis in an odoriferous garden,' is the commencement of the Agony in Gethsemane;" while the Jews are made to cry out to Pilate, "Release Barabbas and crucify Daphnis." Go to the court of the Medici, where you find adopted "not merely the externals of the old existence, but the elements, that is preoccupation with the present life, forgetfulness of the future, the appeal to the senses, the renunciation of Christianity." Remember that in Rome, in the time of Leo X., "it was a characteristic of good society to dispute the fundamental principles of Christianity;" that "at court they spoke of the institutions of the Catholic Church,

of passages of Holy Scripture, only in a tone of jesting, and that the mysteries of the Faith were held in derision." Hear what Pallavicini, Rome's chosen defender of the Council of Trent, says of this same Pontiff, who has sometimes been thought to have been a veritable pagan. "Scarcely had he issued from his infancy when he was admitted to the supreme senate of the Church, and he failed, thenceforth, in his duty, by neglecting the noblest line of knowledge, and the one most in accord with his profession. He failed, much more, when, becoming chief of the Church, at the age of thirty-seven years, he not only continued to devote himself to curious researches in profane studies, but made the very palace of religion a rendezvous for men familiar with Greek fables and the charms of poesy. . . . He left the Church what he found it, that is to say almost destitute of great men, who, as the world came forth from so many centuries of barbarism, might have caused a revival of sacred erudition, as well as of that profane learning which was rising into life in every quarter." Well may Dr. Neale exclaim,

“Marvellous was the infatuation which could expend all its zeal and energies in the discovery of lost books of Tacitus or Livy, in the production of the purest Ciceronian Latin, in the erection of classical churches, and which could pay for all these pagan amusements and studies by the infamous mission of Tetzels, unconscious of the approaching earthquake, regarding the discontent of one German monk as something that might—it mattered not whether of the two—be hushed at the stake or silenced by the sop of a fat benefice.”

No wonder that even in Italy itself a reaction came; that good and thoughtful men tried “to stay the general corruption of the Church by the revived force of religious conviction.” Honest as such attempts were, and hearty as should be the admiration they evoke, they failed, mainly for two reasons. The first is expressed in a saying attributed to Reginald Pole: “That men should content themselves with their own inward convictions, without concerning themselves to know if errors and abuses existed in the Church.” The second is found

—using the word in a very different sense from that now given to it—in the irreformable character of the Roman Court and its influence on the Church. Meantime, it is easy to see how, wholly aside from mere intellectual impulse, this outbreak of paganism at the very centre of civilization must tend to produce a reaction, and help to swell the cry for reformation.

I ought not to dismiss this topic without at least a passing reference to the fact that this pagan tendency was always kept in check in England. Be the causes of this what they may—and they cannot be considered here—the fact is indisputable. Be it true, that “the marks not only of Italy, but of Boccacio, are stamped upon English letters from Chaucer onward,” it is equally true that those marks are only on the surface; that they present the externals of the old existence but not its inner elements. Chaucer, Shakspeare, Spenser, and Surrey may have sought their models and materials in the pagan renaissance, but they never imbibed its moral foulness, the frivolity of its *carpe diem*, or its scornful unbelief. John Colet,

the memorable Dean of St. Paul's, studied Greek in Italy and came back to lecture on St. Paul's Epistles at Oxford, in 1498.¹

The third cause of the cry for a reformation, which I propose to notice, is one that touches depths in human character and life which the two just considered do not reach. It brings before us that ultimate and divinely ordered responsibility which rests on the reason and conscience of individuals in reference to their belief; and that necessity, which equally attaches to individuals, of personal faith in, and personal communion with our Lord. The other causes of which I have spoken live in the world and share in its movement and life; this dwells apart in the retirement of each man's soul.

It has often been observed that while the subtle mind of the East gave itself to the study

¹ Not to burden the page with too many references, I may still mention, Pallavicini, "Hist. of Council of Trent," lib. i. c. 2.; Ranke, "Hist. of the Popes," book i. c. 2.; and book ii.; Taine's, "Eng. Literature," book ii. c. i. iv.; Neale, "Essays on Liturgiology," xiv.; Mr. Gladstone, "Study on the Reformation," *Contemp. Rev.* Oct. 1878; Knight, "Life of Colet."

of Theology in its strict signification, the more practical mind of the West turned itself to Anthropology. "The East," says Freeman, "loves rather to meditate on God as He is, and on the facts of Christian doctrine as they stand in the Creed; the West contemplates more practically the great phenomena of Christian psychology, and the relations of man to God. The East has had its Athanasius and its Andrew of Crete; the West its Augustine and Leo."²

Then, besides, it is equally true that "Christian Anthropology ranges itself under two heads—objective and subjective. By the former is meant the sacraments and ordinances of the Church, as such; by the latter, the progress of grace in the heart of each one of us."³

Now it was mainly, or at least very largely, with the former of these heads, the objective view of Christian anthropology, that the mediæval divines concerned themselves. I do not

² Freeman's "Principles of Divine Service," vol. i. p. 274.

³ Ffoulkes, "Christendom's Divisions," § 40.

forget that from time to time voices were heard inculcating personal earnestness in the religious life; least of all would I forget that noble band of mystical divines, the "Friends of God," as they were called, the precursors of the Reformation, whose mention brings back to our memories the names of Tauler, and Ruysbroek, and Wessel; nor yet do I forget, later on, that "Oratory of Divine Love," which presents to us the names of Contarini, and Sadolet, and Pole.

Still it remains true that the objective side of Anthropology, that which concerns itself with the objective grace of the Sacraments, and, therefore, deals especially with man's corporate life as a member of the Church of God, was the side which engaged the thoughts of the mediæval divines of the Western Church.

It is easy to see how this view might assume proportions which would obscure, if it did not displace, the recognition of the individual duty and the individual life. More especially would this danger affect the popular

idea and estimate of religion. ¹The well instructed, the studious, the thoughtful might, and in many cases did, escape it. But with the body of the people such escape was an impossibility. Corporate membership in the Church as all in all, an exaggerated idea of the value of a perfunctory discharge of routine and merely external duties, "the form of godliness without the power," must inevitably have been the outcome of all this. And this as much as, perhaps more than, anything else honeycombed the Church with corruption, and brought the social state of Europe to rotteness. Possibly nothing short of a passionate reclamation against such an overslaughting of personal religion and individual responsibility, so passionate that it disturbed the balance between the two sides of Christian Anthropology in an opposite direction from the one just indicated, could have roused the hearts and consciences of men. And such a reclamation was the real work of Luther. Such a reclamation was not wanting in England.

Such, then, being the need of reform in the sixteenth century, and such the cry—long continued—for it, we are next to consider the methods by which reform could be accomplished.

The most obvious method, the one which would immediately occur to men's minds in those days, would be the convoking of a General Council of Western Christendom. Attempts in this direction had been made during the previous century, but they had accomplished nothing. The Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basle—as has been already said—were all summoned in the interests of reform; they had met, discussed, and separated, without appreciable result. It is perfectly true that plans for "constitutional reform" found utterance at Constance and Basle; but it is equally true that these plans were perpetually thwarted and brought to nought by papal violence or intrigue; and it is not to be forgotten that, in 1460, Pius II. forbade any attempt "to invoke the aid of councils under pain of damnation." All avenues of hope in that direction might well seem to be forever closed.

Still men did hope, even against hope. Constitutional reform had taken strong hold in France, and vitalized, though it did not originate, the principles that underlaid the Gallican liberties. The accession of Pius III. to the pontifical throne, in 1503, gave a gleam of hope that something might yet be accomplished under the leadership of the Pope and the hierarchy. But that gleam expired when, after a reign of six and twenty days, he died. Then when the paganizing Leo X. was succeeded by the "reforming pontiff," Adrian VI., men hoped again. And surely when Adrian boldly asserted that "many abominations had existed for a long time, even in the holy see, yea, that all things had been grievously altered and perverted," there might well seem to be ground for hope. Be that as it may, Adrian's brief pontificate—reforming popes seem to have had short reigns—aroused men's hopes only to dash them down when it ended; and "the Roman *Curia* persisting in its resolution to discountenance all change whatever, manifested no activity, till its slum-

bers were broken by the prospect of a general revolt.”⁴

Since, then, the papacy would neither institute measures of reform nor allow them to be instituted, was all thought of reformation to be abandoned, and the Western Church to settle down into a unity of death? That could not be. The needs were too profound, the stirrings of men's hearts were too thorough, the cry was too universal, to come to such an end. The haunting spectre, which the pontiffs tried to persuade themselves was but a “horrible shadow and unreal mockery,” would not down.

Two—and only two—methods of reform remained after the failures of which I have been speaking. The first of these was a movement, or movements, under the conduct of individual leaders. The other was based upon a recognition of the rights of autonomous national churches; on “the principle of nationality as opposed to papal universalism”; and took its form accordingly. The former of

⁴ See Hardwick's “Reformation,” Introduction.

these methods shaped the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, giving to each the name of its especial leader; the latter was pursued in England, and kept our Anglican Reformation from bearing the impress or the name of any single master. And this national idea had, a century earlier, been recognized, as I have already said, at the Council of Constance; where the "four nations," Italian, German, French, and English were held to possess equal rights, and no subject could be acted on by the Council till it had been accepted by a majority of the "nations." The great John Gerson, also, had asserted the same principle, saying that "The Church may be reformed by parts: that this is necessary; and that it may be accomplished by provincial councils." Nor was this an afterthought of that time, or of times that followed. It was a recurrence to the practice of the "purest ages of the faith." In all time and everywhere national synods had discussed and dealt with the heresies, errors, and evils of national churches, whether such

heresies, errors, and evils had grown up from within, or been thrust in from without. The method was an old one revived, not a new one invented.⁵

Let me sum up these thoughts concerning methods of reform, in the wise and weighty words of Archbishop Laud: "It is true, a general council free and entire, would have been the best remedy and most able for a gangrene that had spread so far and eaten so deep into Christianity. But, what! should we have suffered this gangrene to endanger life and all, rather than be cured in time by a physician of a weaker knowledge and a less able hand? We live to see since, if we had stayed and expected a general council, what manner of one we should have had, if any; for that at Trent was neither general nor free;⁶ and for the errors Rome had contracted, it

⁵ Hardwick "On the Articles," chap. i. sec. 2. Laud against Fisher (Oxf. 1839), pp. 122-129.

⁶ Compare Bp. Bull's words, "*Tridentina conventio quidvis potius quam generale concilium dicenda sit.*"—"Defens. Fid. Nic. Proemium," § 8.

confirmed them, it cured them not. And yet I much doubt whether even that council (such as it was) would have been called, if some provincial and national synods, under supreme regal power, had not first set upon this great work of reformation; which I heartily wish had been as orderly and happily pursued as the work was right Christian and good in itself."

"I make no doubt but that, as the universal Catholic Church would have reformed herself, had she been in all parts freed of the Roman yoke, so, while she was for the most in those western parts under that yoke, the Church of Rome was, if not the only, yet the chief hindrance of reformation. And then, in this sense, it is more than clear, that if the Roman Church will neither reform nor suffer reformation, it is lawful for any other particular Church to reform itself, so long as it doth it peaceably and orderly, and keeps itself to the foundation and free from sacrilege."⁷

And here I close this preliminary sketch, which, nevertheless, has seemed necessary

⁷ "Conference," *ut sup.* pp. 127, 129.

that we may intelligently approach the topics of which I propose to treat; the treatment of which, though it will by no means be a connected, chronological history of the English Reformation, will, I hope, serve to shew how that reformation has placed within the reach of the Churches in communion with our English mother, "the three great springs of power which have been given separately to others—the simplicity of a pure creed, the strength of a continuous organization, and the freedom of personal faith."⁸

⁸ Dean Boyle's "Farewell address to his parishioners at Kidderminster."



LECTURE II.

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IN my first lecture I called attention to certain general facts, not specifically connected with the Anglican Reformation, which, nevertheless, it was needful to consider in order that we might approach intelligently the topic in hand. Turning now to that topic, I must ask you, at the outset, to go along with me in the endeavor to point out and, so far as may be, to classify, the evils with which reform, if it were to be to any purpose, must necessarily deal. A real reformation must concern itself with actually existing evils; and the lines of its outworking must be settled and determined by such evils. Any other reformation would be so entirely

theoretical and *doctrinaire* in character, that it would have neither practical effect nor abiding life. The grandest exhibition of the difference between such methods which history records was given to the world, when philosophers were dreaming over plans for reforming the evils that weighed down the nations and accomplished nothing; and the disciples of Christ's religion grappled with the evils practically, and did the work. Nor could a mere theoretical reformation, however perfect in its arrangements, have commended itself to the convictions or commanded the support of the English people; a people always caring less for logical consistency than for practical result.

What then were the ecclesiastical evils, wrongs, perversions of true and good things that were pressing on Englishmen in the sixteenth century; and can they be classified in any intelligent fashion?

Let us go back, just here, to a memorable day, Feb. 6, 1512, when John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, preached the sermon before the Convocation of the province of Canterbury.

I have called the day a memorable one; it was made so by that outspoken sermon. The assembly before which Colet stood was most truly representative. There sat Warham, the Archbishop, the friend of the "new learning," the patron and protector of Erasmus; Fitz-James (promoted for his secular services to Rochester, Chichester, and London successively), the embodiment of the stiffest and most starched conservatism of the day, and so fierce against all heresy that Andreas Ammonius writes, in ghastly jesting, to Erasmus, that "wood is scarce and dear in London because so much is used in burning heretics"; Stanley of Ely, a notorious and open profligate; a nameless bishop, who offered to Erasmus a benefice and a large sum of money if he would become his tutor for a year; a bishop satirized by More, under the name of Posthumus, as distinguished from other bishops, who were usually selected at random, by the exceptional care exhibited in his case in selecting a man hopelessly ignorant and stupid; there were bishops who

owed their rapid translations¹ and promotions not at all to successful discharge of episcopal duty, but "whose benefices were the reward of purely secular services, and who, consequently, had hardly a chance of discharging with diligence their spiritual and pastoral functions"; and, to name no more, there was Wolsey, with all his course before him, just beginning to tread "the ways of glory," and sound "the depths and shoals of honor," destined to find to his sorrow,

"How wretched

Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favors."

There were vacant places, also, in that assembly, that had their own tale to tell. The sees of Bath and Wells and of Worcester were held in those days by two non-resident Italian prelates, whose main connection with their dioceses seems to have been to receive from them the revenues which they spent at Rome. These instances exhibit the culmination of one line of papal interference, and that a disastrous one, in England; though it is not to be for-

gotten that more than these two prelates then held their sees, in the very teeth of the statutes of the realm, by papal provision.⁹

Of those who composed the Lower House there were doubtless some whose sympathies went with Colet, not only in the practical matters touched on in his sermon, but also in his dislike of the new theology of the schoolmen, and his desire "to restore the theological studies that were founded upon the Scriptures and the primitive Fathers"; in his opposition to the compulsory celibacy of the clergy; in his objections to the worship of images; in his denunciation of "anxious and frequently repeated confession"; in his

⁹ This was the case with Sherburn of Chichester, Oldham of Exeter, Mayew or Mayo of Hereford, Smith of Lincoln, etc. The two Italians were Adrian Castello, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Sylvester Gigles, or Gigliis, of Worcester, who succeeded his uncle, an Italian, in the see, and was himself succeeded by another Italian, after an interval of about two years, during which time the see was administered by still another Italian, a Cardinal at Rome. Non-residence was thus the rule at Worcester for nearly forty years. See Le Neve's "*Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanæ*," and Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," pp. 224, ff.

practice of saying mass “only upon Sundays and great festivals”; and in those educational and religious reforms which appear in all the arrangements of his school in London, to which he gave the name of the great apostle, whom, to use his own words, he “so dearly loved and admired.”¹⁰

But besides these there must have been others—probably a much more numerous body than the former—to whom such thoughts were, to say nothing of principles and acts, blank and atrocious heresy; men who “hated the pernicious innovation of the Greek tongue,” and sneered at Erasmus, as *Græculus iste*; to whom the study of the Scriptures was as “the root of all evil”; who accepted the speculations of the schoolmen, even before they had been petrified at Trent, as articles of faith; and to whom not the *successional* Church, *semper et ubique*, but the *present* Church, under the headship of the Roman pontiff, was the “pillar and ground of the truth.”

Before such an assembly the brave Dean

¹⁰ “Letters of Erasmus,” quoted by Knight.

of St. Paul's stood up and spoke of the need of reformation. He touches, naturally, on evils of practice rather than anything else; but the dealing with those must have brought in its train the dealing with doctrines from which they originated, or with which they were closely connected. His beadroll of evils is a most striking one, and contains the justification of many complaints in later years which are now sometimes spoken of as mere pretences and vain shews. But here it is not a layman who speaks to laymen, or a body of laymen which speaks to the sovereign; it is a cleric, high in position and pure in life, who speaks to a body of clergymen.

When Colet comes to the second part of his noble sermon, he begins by asserting that what is needed to effect reform is not the enactment of new laws (of which he says—in words that are not unfitting to our own days—there are enough and to spare), but the faithful application of existing laws; while his line of remark makes it clear that he has specially in mind the ancient canons and the early

councils. He denounces, in terse and cogent phrases, rash ordinations of unlearned and evil living priests; promotions not for merit but by favor, so that "instead of elders, boys, instead of wise men, fools, instead of good men, evil ones rule and reign"; simony which is a plague and a contagion among priests; non-residence of those having cure of souls with all its train of evils; the secularity of the clergy, and their evil manners; the equal secularity of monks; uncanonical election of bishops more concerned with earthly things than with those of Christ; episcopal non-residence with its neglect of preaching and ministering sacraments, and its lack of care for the poor; the squandering of the patrimony of the Church; the corruptions of the ecclesiastical courts with their inventions for getting money and their foul avarice; and the neglect of provincial as well as general councils.¹ Had the sugges-

¹ See the Sermon in Knight's "Life of Colet," p. 238; Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers" etc., p. 230. I wish we could say that the Reformation extinguished *all* these ingrained evils, especially those of episcopal and clerical non-residence and pluralities. But the

tions of Colet been acted on, there would have been less occasion for the accusation of the Ordinaries by the Commons in 1532.

I have dwelt thus long on the scene and the sermon of Feb. 6, 1512, because they present so distinct a picture of the then present, and afford so clear an indication of the coming future of the Church of England. They shew what thoughts were in the minds of thoughtful men; what ideas were coming to the front; what collisions of intellectual and religious principles and forces were impending. They illustrate the three causes of the cry for reform spoken of in my last lecture. They intimate the method of reform that will be adopted, the action of a National Church in a National Synod. They suggest the appeal, by which that reform will shape itself, to Holy Scripture and ancient authors. Nor is it difficult to

not unfounded complaints of the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference, in 1604, and the wretched facts of the eighteenth century shew how rooted these last named evils were. See Cardwell's "Conferences," c. iv.; and Overton and Abbey, "History of the English Church in the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii. c. i.

see the foreshadowing of the lines which it will take, and the evils with which it will deal, evils which I will state in the words of Mr. Blunt: "The organic or constitutional abuses, indicated by so many writers, as eating out the heart of the Church; the doctrinal errors which had grown up in mediæval times; and the superstitions with which religion had been burdened;" to use the familiar phraseology of the preface to our own Prayer Book, abuses and corruptions in Discipline, in Doctrine, and in Worship.²

But there are still other things to be taken into account before we have completed our proposed view of the lines in which reform will run, and the forces that will be brought to bear upon it. Many misrepresentations of the real character of the Anglican Reformation are due to misconceptions in regard to the matters of which I proceed to speak.

It requires no very extended or careful view of the usurpations of the Papacy, to see that they everywhere interfered with the ancient and established rights of rulers, and the rela-

² Blunt, "Reformation," p. 21.

tions of subjects to the civil government. Such interference enters into the Roman ideal of the practical working of the Church to-day; and it was far less an ideal and more a reality in the sixteenth century.³

In England, the ancient prerogatives and rights of the Sovereign in regard to the appointment of bishops, the holding of synods, the determining all criminal causes in the courts of the realm, had been seriously inter-

³ It is worth while to compare the claims of Boniface VIII., in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, 1302, of Paul IV., in the Bull *Cum ex Apostolatus Officio*, as late as 1558, of Gregory XI., Gregory XII., Pius V., and Urban VIII., in the Bull *In Cæna Domini*, from 1372 to 1627, and of Pius IX., in the Syllabus of 1864, with the Irish Remonstrance of 1661, the Declaration of the Irish Roman Catholic Committee in 1757, the Protestation of the entire Roman Communion in England in 1789, the Synodical Declaration of the Irish Bishops in 1810, and the Testimony of Bishop Doyle and others before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1825-26. The comparison will shew that opposition to papal claims which was not formally condemned during the middle ages, and, even down to our own times, is now "judicially extinguished within the papal Church, by the recent decrees of the Vatican Council," in 1870. See Gladstone's "Newest Fashions" etc.; "Janus;" Prof. Friedrich's "*Documenta*."

fered with by papal encroachments; and the relations of the subject to the civil government had been equally interfered with by the trial of criminous clerks, and persons claiming benefit of clergy, not in the civil but in the ecclesiastical courts with final appeal to Rome. I am now merely mentioning instances, in a general way, and in illustration of the statement just made. The subject must come up again in more specific detail.

How were these wrongs—for whether the older state of things was, in itself considered, good or bad is nothing to us here; if good the unlawful change only made it bad, if bad the same change did not make it better;—how were these wrongs to be righted? Surely only by that power whose ancient immunities had been attacked, that is by the civil power, vested in the Sovereign and Parliament of England. To that extent then the civil power *must* participate in any practical reformation dealing with actual wrongs and evils.

But this is not all. The universal theory in Europe—and in that word one includes

England—in the sixteenth century, was that spiritual sentences and laws could not stand on their spiritual character alone, but must also have the force and penalties of civil law annexed to them. They must be made effective in *foro contentioso*, by compulsory penalties of the state, as well as in *foro conscientiae*, by spiritual penalties of the Church.⁴ The right or the wrong of this theory is, again, nothing to us just here. All we have to do with is the fact that it existed—and had long been in existence—in the sixteenth century; that it was universally held; and that it must enter as a factor into any plan of reform. It is needless to add that the civil power is thus again brought prominently forward.

The lines, therefore, on which we may expect the Anglican Reformation to move will be constitutional, ritual, and doctrinal. And the forces which will be brought to bear upon the work must, from the necessities of the case and the universal theory of the time, be

⁴ See Wharton's "Troubles and Trials of Abp. Laud," ed. 1695, p. 309.

ecclesiastical and civil, or, if the phrase is preferred, spiritual and temporal. The comprehension and application of these plain facts and principles will brush away a good deal of vague and declamatory talk about the Reformed Church of England being a parliamentary Church and a creation of the State; and will justify the terse but exhaustive statement of Archbishop Laud, "In the Reformation, . . . our princes had their parts and the clergy theirs."⁵

I called attention, in my first lecture, to the important fact that synodical action, as over against individual action, had preserved our Reformed Church from taking on the impress of the mind, or receiving the name of any single leader. The considerations just brought to your notice illustrate the same truth more fully. But something more is necessary to present it in its completeness. Keeping our eyes fixed on England, we find (not forgetting the general causes, already mentioned, of the universal cry for reform), three elements at work which deserve careful attention.

⁵ Laud, "Conf. with Fisher," p. 127.

The first of these is that ever increasing opposition to the usurpations of the papacy which was evinced by the great body of the bishops, and which could not but be felt most deeply by the civil power. This opposition, as will appear more fully in due time, had come to the surface on many occasions anterior to its final explosion in the sixteenth century. So long, however, as the protracted contest between the sovereign and the barons was going on, with its engrossing interests and its varying fortunes, such an explosion was impossible; while the two great agencies of papal encroachments, force and fraud, had "ample room and verge enough" to work in.

The second element is found in the improved condition of the universities, in the abandonment of mere scholasticism, and the study of Holy Scripture and the Early Fathers; and would tell, if not entirely yet, mainly on scholars.

The third appears "in the direct influence which was exerted by the circulation in Eng-

land,—beginning as early as 1520,—of Lutheran tracts and other publications of a similar character”; and would naturally take up into itself whatever remained of the “earlier Lollard movement, and thus affect the great body of the people.”⁶ *

Here were great possibilities for good, perhaps we may say almost equal possibilities for evil. Had any one of these elements become effective, to the exclusion of the other two, we might have seen a reform simply rejecting the papal claims and regulating the hierarchy, while doctrine and ritual remained untouched; or one dealing exclusively with doctrine, and putting ritual and the hierarchy to one side; or, lastly, one without guidance or direction, and losing itself in a confusion little short of anarchy.

The overruling providence of God averted, in good measure, these several dangers; while from the joint operation of all those “agencies combined, and modified through combination,”

⁶ Hardwick, “Reformation,” p. 181, ff. This classification of causes peculiar to England is taken from him.

working on the lines, in the methods, by the forces already indicated, rose the complex structure known as the "Reformed Church of England"; whose eventful history has, therefore, ever since exhibited the working of various elements, instinct with life and spirit; sometimes, indeed, jarring with each other, but never, God be thanked—except with some ungoverned spirits—destroying unity.⁷

M. Guizot, in his *History of Civilization*,⁸ has an observation which seems to me worth quoting at this point. He says, "When we look at the civilizations which have preceded that of Modern Europe, whether in Asia or elsewhere, including even those of Greece and Rome, it is impossible not to be struck with the *unity* of character which reigns among them. Each appears as though it had emanated from a single fact, a single idea." And then, after shewing how entirely different European civilization is in this regard, in its principles of organization, its sentiments, its

⁷ Hardwick, "Reformation," pp. 179-184.

⁸ Lect. ii. Am. Ed. p. 35 ff.

opinions, its literature, he adds, "While in other civilizations the exclusive domination, or at least the excessive preponderance, of a single principle, of a single form, led to tyranny, in modern Europe the diversity of the elements of social order, the incapability of any one to exclude the rest gave birth to the liberty which now prevails."

I am aware that comparisons do not, as it is said, go on all fours. They do, however, illustrate. And unless I greatly err, we find in Guizot's striking contrast a very apt illustration of the difference between the Early Church on the one side and the Modern Tridentine Church on the other, between the results of the Anglican and the Continental Reformations. In the Tridentine Church and the Continental Reformations, such a predominance of one idea, such a dependence on one master, such an assertion of one thing as the *articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ*, as that when that one master falls, that one idea and article give way, then the tyranny, so engendered, passes into utter license. In the

Early Church and the Anglican Reformation, such an absence of a single master, and of one overmastering idea, such a balance and reciprocal influence of elements and factors, as that permanent tyranny becomes well-nigh impossible, and there can be no break down that will involve everything in ruin.

We have now reached the point where a question arises as to the principle by which measures of reform were regulated and shaped. This is a most important inquiry. For no intelligent estimate can be formed of any movement, however clearly we may have before our minds agencies, methods, and factors, until we have also an equally clear insight into the principle that underlies and guides it.

In the present case this principle is not difficult to find. Colet stated it in advance, when, before the sixteenth century had fairly opened, he wrote to Erasmus of his earnest wish to recall men to "the Scriptures and the primitive Fathers." It was a voice from Oxford repeating the cry of Bernard uttered nearly four hundred years before. It was the

watchword of our Reformation. It is heard over and over again as the years go by. The fact is too patent to need more than a rapid summary of its proofs. Beginning, then, with the action touching the papal jurisdiction and the royal supremacy from 1531 to 1533, we pass on to the Ten Articles of 1536, The Institution of a Christian Man in 1537, The Erudition of a Christian Man in 1543, the Homilies of 1547, The Act Ordering Administration of the Eucharist in both Kinds of 1547, The Preface to the Prayer Book of 1549, The Ordinal of 1550, the *Reformatio Legum* of 1552, the Act of Supremacy of 1559, the Homilies of 1562, the Canon of Preachers in 1571, and we find, all through, the appeal to Holy Scriptures and the Early Church recognized and applied in synodical or *quasi* synodical action. So that "in England the supremacy and sufficiency of Scripture was maintained, not against a Catholic tradition *teaching the same doctrines as Scripture itself*, and therefore strictly confirmatory of Scripture; but against a tradition imagined to con-

vey articles of faith in *addition* to those which Scripture contained.”⁹ Around these synodical acts gather a host of Anglican divines, whose names require no mention. The *consensus* of synods and divines is clear, uniform, continuous, and, I may say, unanimous.

Nor is there anything new and of the nature of a discovery in all this. It is neither more nor less than the rule of “universality, antiquity and consent,” laid down by Vincent of Lerins, more than a thousand years before our Reformation.¹⁰ As many persons seem to have taken a crude and unintelligent view of this canon of Vincent, let me, especially because of its connection with our own work of reform, call your attention to the safeguards and limitations under which he sets it forth.

First, he “guards carefully against being

⁹ Palmer, “Treatise of the Church of Christ,” vol. i. p. 454. Am. Ed. He quotes the title of a treatise of Dr. Smythe (a papist), “*De Veritatibus non Scriptis*,” as shewing the animus of the papal party. See also J. J. Blunt, “Right Use of the Early Fathers,” lect. i.

¹⁰ “*Commonitorium*,” c. xxvii. ff.

supposed for one instant" to deny the sufficiency of Scripture, or "to put Scripture and Tradition on a par, or to amalgamate them like two equal co-ordinate elements in one Rule of Faith."¹ After saying that it has ever been the custom in the Church to prove the Faith "first by the authority of the Divine Canon, then by the tradition of the Catholic Church," he goes on to explain what he means by this. "*Not that the Canon alone is not self-sufficient for all purposes:* but because very many persons interpreting the Divine Words according to their own judgment conceive various opinions and errors, and that therefore it is necessary that the understanding of the heavenly Scriptures be directed to the one rule of ecclesiastical meaning; *chiefly*, however, in those questions on which *rest the foundations* of the entire Catholic Faith."²

Thus by anticipation he asserts with us the supremacy and sufficiency of the written Word; and denies beforehand the Roman doctrine of

¹ Owen, "Int. to Dogmat. Theol.," p. 35.

² "*Comm.*," c. xxix.

to-day, that the Word of God is contained "in written books and unwritten traditions;"³ and would employ what he calls tradition (and what he means by that we shall see immediately), only as a help in attaining the meaning of Scripture, and, therefore, as entirely subsidiary to it.

Secondly, in shewing what he means by this subsidiary tradition and how he would apply it, he says: "And if at any time a part shall have rebelled against universality, novelty against antiquity, the dissent of one or a few. . . against the consent of all, or at least by far the majority, . . . let them prefer the integrity of the universality to the corruption of the past. In which same universality, let them prefer the religion of antiquity to the profaneness of novelty; and also, in antiquity itself, let them first of all prefer the general decrees, if there be any, of a universal Council to the temerity of one or of very few; then in the next place, if that does not exist, the sentiments of many and great masters agree-

³ Trent, Sess. iv.

ing with each other."⁴ Thus he refuses to make universality *at any one time*, without regard to continuousness from the beginning, a test of truth; so holding together the *ubique* and the *semper*, and showing that what he means by tradition is not some uncertain unwritten thing declared somehow, by the Church at different times; but the consentient written, documentary testimony of universal Councils and "great masters."

And, finally, to shew under what limitations his rule is to be applied, he says: "Which ancient consent of the Holy Fathers is to be investigated and followed by us with great zeal not in *all questions* of the Divine Law, but only, at least *principally, in the Rule of Faith*."⁵ Thus he recognizes room for freedom of opinion, while still there is unity in the Faith. The position taken is throughout a prophetic protest against the doctrine of the "Holy Roman Church" in and since the Council of Trènt, and a prophetic defence of the English Reformation. After all, this is no more than

⁴ "*Common.*" c. xxvii.

⁵ "*Common.*" c. xxviii.

what appears in the action of the Council of Nicæa touching the creed, and in its well-known sixth canon; and in the rule of Tertullian, "The first is true, the later is spurious."⁶

It is the more necessary to put this subject clearly and distinctly before the minds of all who may in any way be called on to maintain or defend the position of our Church, because the conditions under which we must do our work are no longer what they were three centuries ago.⁷

This change of conditions is a radical one; although it only affects the appeal to the transmitted testimony of the Church. At the time of the Reformation Rome asserted, as she asserts now, that God's Word is con-

⁶ *Id esse verum quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius.* Adv. Prax. i.

⁷ Nearly forty years ago, the then Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Kaye, wrote words which now seem prophetic. "If we mistake not the signs of the times, the period is not far distant when the whole controversy between the English and Romish Churches will be revived, and all the points in dispute again brought under review. Of these points none is more important than the question respecting Tradition." Kaye's "Tertullian," p. 281.

tained in Holy Scripture *and* in unwritten tradition and that the former was insufficient without the latter. We, on the contrary, maintained, as we do now, that God's Word is contained in Holy Scripture alone, and that this Divine Canon is entirely sufficient in itself to settle all controversies; but that when the meaning of the Divine Canon is disputed then, as subsidiary and auxiliary to it, we appeal to what may be called tradition if you will, but what might better be termed *historic testimony*. This was, as we have seen, the old Vincentine rule from which Rome had departed.

Still, the nature of the appeal to tradition or testimony was not at the era of the Reformation a point in dispute, at least not formally. On either side the appeal was to documentary testimony, acts of Councils and writings of Fathers. No doubt there was all along a tendency manifesting itself among Roman controversialists to make the consciousness of the *existing* Church, its *present* theory in doctrine or anything else, the true interpre-

ter of tradition, let documentary testimony be what it might. No doubt, at first, this tendency was no more than a tendency, and even Trent asserted, that the tradition "must be preserved by *continuous succession* in the Catholic Church."

This tendency has, however, in our day taken definite shape, and become to a large extent a rule; and the old historical appeal is likely to be pretty much abandoned. Indeed it has been lately asserted, *permissu superiorum*, that "where a thing is once commonly accepted in the Church, this common testimony of the *living* Church, is an *infallible* proof that this opinion is contained in tradition and needs no documents of antiquity." When history can thus be manufactured to order, the historical argument becomes less than nugatory. But this universal solvent, the *arcanum magnum* of Romanism, had not been brought out at the time of our Reformation.⁸

⁸ Cardinal Newman has professed his weariness of our antiquarianism; the Abbé Martin enlarges on the uncertainty of

Method, agencies, lines of reform and governing principle reduced to a practical rule, being now set forth, the next question is, where are we to look for results; how are we to be informed correctly as to what our Reformation effected? This may seem a simple and almost needless question; but I can assure you that mistaken or heedless answers to it have been the occasion of very great confusion. And yet it cannot require much or troublesome consideration to decide how it should be answered. Synodal acts, authoritative documents, in some cases (for the reasons already given) acts of parliament, and, sometimes, the matured views of leaders are the

historical estimates of character, as if that had anything to do with documentary testimony as to fact; and so long ago as 1854, a writer in the *Revue des deux Mondes* said, with evident satisfaction, "Le catholique, prenant le dogme *tel que le temps l'a fait*, est, en un sens, bien plus près de *la grande philosophie* que le protestant, qui cherche à venir sans cesse à une *pretendue formule primitive* du Christianisme." No doubt he is. But surely "dogma such as time has made it," is not quite an equivalent term to the "Faith once [for all] given to the Saints." See Bp. Kaye's excellent remarks in his "Tertullian," pp. 284-86.

only sources of real information as to the results of the Anglican Reformation. Instead of this method of research and appeal, so obviously right and trustworthy, how often has some obscure and worthless treatise, some chance expression in a hastily written letter, some crude opinion, uttered without much thought and afterwards retracted, been pressed into prominence as exhibiting such results. Nor is it to be forgotten that the indiscriminating antiquarianism of individuals and societies, by raking out of obscurity a mass of material that might better have been left in well-deserved oblivion, has greatly increased this misleading confusion.

Let me mention an instance which strikingly illustrates what has just been said. Lord Macaulay once asserted that "Cranmer, on one important occasion, plainly avowed his conviction that, in the primitive times, there was no distinction between bishops and priests, and that the laying on of hands was altogether superfluous."⁹

⁹ "History of England," vol. i. p. 39. Am. Ed.

Now what Lord Macaulay said, is in the letter, undoubtedly true. But the conclusions drawn from it are as wide of the truth as they well can be. The words quoted from Cranmer occur in a paper drawn up in 1540, and doubtless express his opinion at that time. But, it must be remembered, he then held that scholastic theory in which he had been trained, that there is only a difference in *office*, but none at all in *order*, between bishops and priests—a theory common to Rome and Geneva, if, indeed, Geneva did not receive it directly from Rome; and he also must have held, as Eugenius IV. had ruled, that the essential thing in ordination was, *not* the imposition of hands, but the *porrectio instrumentorum*, the delivery of the sacred vessels, etc.¹⁰

¹⁰ See Pearson, "Minor Works," vol. i. pp. 274, 275; Charles Leslie's "Discourse on Qualifications to administer the Sacraments," Works, vol. ii., p. 731; Bishop Charles Wordsworth's "Discourse on the Scottish Reformation," App. c. vi. The words of Eugenius IV. are, "Sextum Sacramentum est Ordinis, cujus *materia* est *illud per cujus traditionem* confertur Ordo; sicut *presbyteratus* traditur per calicis cum vino et patenæ cum *pane* porrectionem." Perrone distinctly says, that "almost all the ancient scholastic

Such was the view held (not, as he says, "temerarily"), by Cranmer in 1540. But let us pass over ten years, and those years of most careful and laborious study,¹ and what do we then find as his matured and final opinion, expressed, not in a hastily written paper, but in what was to be a Formulary of the Church, the Preface to the Ordinal? Why, that bishops and priests are distinct *orders* as well as *offices* in the Church; and also that for conferring those orders imposition of hands must be had.² I need hardly ask what is to be said of the propriety of quoting an early and evidently doubtfully-held opinion, as if it were the settled view of the person uttering it, in the face of a precisely opposite opinion, put forth as solemnly as it was possible it should be, after ten years of careful

theologians, with whom not a few later theologians agree, think that the matter of orders resides as much in the delivery of the instruments" as in the imposition of hands. *Prælectiones* (as abridged), vol. ii., p. 395. See, also, for Cranmer, Jenkyns, "Works of Cranmer," vol. i. pp. 32-36.

¹ See Jenkyns, "Works," etc., vol. i. p. 73; iv. p. 147.

² Compare "Reformatio Legum," in 1552.

study. If such a method can be reconciled with the requirements of ordinarily fair dealing, then no man's real opinions can ever be ascertained.

Again, we are told, and told truly, that in the "Institution of a Christian Man," put forth in 1537 (while there is more or less confusion of statement, arising probably from the mediæval theory of orders), the orders of bishops and priests are, on the whole, spoken of as identical; and on this fact is grounded the further assertion that this is the synodical ruling of the Church of England. When, however, we remember that the "Institution" was never submitted to Convocation, but was the work of a commission appointed by the crown, consisting of "all the bishops, eight archdeacons and seventeen other doctors of divinity," and printed by royal authority; and when we remember, further, that the Ordinal, which was synodically sanctioned by Convocation in 1552, contains the distinct declaration that there is a difference of order between bishops and priests, it is not difficult to see

where the truth lies and how the error has arisen.³

These instances, it seems to me, illustrate, better than pages of mere abstract reasoning, the danger of resorting to other sources of information than those which have been indicated; and justify the position which was assumed in indicating them.

But, it may be said, does not all this admit the existence of variations and inconsistencies in doctrine, to speak of nothing more, which must seriously damage, if it does not utterly imperil, the claim of the Church of England to be an *Ecclesia docens*, a teaching Church? The obvious answer to this question is, that, existing corruptions being asserted, and it being further alleged that those corruptions came in by gradual and varying accretions: it must of necessity follow (until it is shewn that such corruptions did not exist, and did not come into existence in the way alleged), that the

³ See J. H. Blunt's "Reformation," etc., p. 444, f.; Bp. Lloyd's "Formularies," pp. 101-123; Hardwick, "History of the Articles," pp. 108-113.

variations of their gradual removal cannot be in any degree as damaging to the character of a Church as the variations of their gradual accretion. And what other variations, let me ask, than those which necessarily inhere in such gradual removal of gradually compacted errors, are chargeable on the Church of England? Has she, like other bodies, which I will not here name, ever added to or taken from the great historic creeds of Christendom? Has she ever laid a finger on the divine constitution of the Church in the three Orders of the Ministry and the equal and undivided Episcopate? Has she ever violated that law of worship which requires it to be rendered to the Three Persons of the Adorable Trinity and forbids it to be given to any others? And is not a Church as much an *Ecclesia docens* when she is teaching and propounding the one Faith "whole and undefiled," as if she were giving utterance to all new-fangledness and teaching the latest discoveries in religion? Is not "the teaching of great Christian writers fifteen hundred years

ago as much part of the *living voice* of the Church as anything spoken in our day?"⁴ Away with such puerilities ! If these charges are to be pressed against our Reformed Church, they will recoil with tenfold force and crushing weight upon those who make them.⁵

If now I have been able to present to you a reasonable classification of the matters which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, demanded reform in the Church of England; to point out the lines which any practical reform must take and the agencies which, from the necessity of the case and the universally accepted theory of the time as to the relations of the temporal and the spiritual powers, must be concerned in it; to lay before you the various elements that entered into the complex work and their accompanying dangers; to set forth the great guiding law under which the work was carried on, a law steadfastly adhered to by us but abandoned by the Roman Church; to shew whither we are to go, and whither we

⁴ Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons," etc., p. 16.

⁵ Palmer "Treatise on the Church," etc., part ii. c. vii.

are not to go, for authoritative and correct information as to what our Reformation effected; and, in any degree, to vindicate our Reformed Church from the reproach of damaging and even destructive variations in doctrine, discipline and worship; then, my purpose in the present lecture is accomplished.

LECTURE III.

ABOLITION OF PAPAL JURISDICTION IN
ENGLAND.

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IN approaching the subject of my present lecture, I must ask you to bear in mind that we are not entering on the entire question of the papacy, but only on its relations to the Church and Realm of England. Historic facts and ecclesiastical law and precedent must, therefore, be the two factors in our argument. Those expositions of Holy Scripture which stand foremost in the discussion of the papal supremacy as such, evidently have no place here. Those wider views of conciliar enactment and ecclesiastical administration which go with such expositions are, for the present, put to one side.

No doubt that wider view, that greater question, should never be forgotten. No doubt, if the papacy is "anything less than it

has asserted itself to be, if it is not *in everything* the divine ordinance of our blessed Lord and Saviour, it is false, a fiction and an imposture.”⁶ No doubt, if law and prescription shew that it has no claim over the Church and Realm of England, that fact must tell strongly against its higher claim, and take an important place in the wider argument. But it is the former, not the latter, that we are concerned with now.

I suppose there are multitudes of persons who, were they asked to state their ideas of the English Reformation, would say, that Henry VIII., enraged at Clement VII. because that Pontiff would not grant him a divorce from his queen, Katharine of Aragon, transferred to himself the power of the Pope in England, and, with the help of his parliament, set up a new church of his own. Assuredly this is “a short and easy method” of disposing of the English Reformation and of our Reformed Church; and, therefore, acceptable to those who value brevity and ease

⁶ Hussey, “Rise of the Papal Power,” p. 209.

more than truth and accuracy; and acceptable also to those who, on the one side and the other, desire to make out a case against us.

It cannot be necessary that I should enter here on any formal line of argument to disprove this preposterous view. It would be an insult to your intelligence should I attempt it. Some mistakes and irrelevancies are, however, brought out in it which ought not to be passed by in silence. Let me speak of these by way of preface to the special subject of my present lecture.

First, then, we have here a striking instance of the fallacy of mistaking occasions for causes which was touched upon in a previous lecture. The complications connected with the King's marriage to Katharine of Aragon gave the *occasion* for action touching the Papal Supremacy, the *causes* of which are to be sought for elsewhere. Those causes were various. Some of them have already been mentioned, others will be considered in due time. They had also been long at work; though their

operation had been checked and thwarted by many things, especially by the protracted and long doubtful struggle between the sovereign and the barons, which may be said to have terminated with the ending of the wars of the roses and the accession of Henry VII. Cardinal Manning says, most truly, in a work written before he abandoned the Church of England: "If any man will look down along the line of early English history, he will see a standing contest between the rulers of this land and the Bishops of Rome. The Crown and Church of England with a steady opposition, resisted the entrance and encroachment of the secularized ecclesiastical power of the Pope in England. The last rejection of it was no more than a successful effort, after many a failure in struggles of the like kind."⁷

During the reign of Henry VII. no occasion presented itself specially calculated to bring the two forces indicated into collision. Nor was there such occasion offered in the earlier

⁷ "Unity of the Church," p. 36, Am. Ed.

part of the reign of his successor. There are indeed mutterings heard from time to time, during the administration of Wolsey, whose "well known nationalism" could never have been acceptable at Rome. Complaints come from the papal court in 1516 that "the tenth" has been refused to the Pope; that indulgences cannot be sold in England except under conditions altogether distasteful to the *Curia*; and, in 1518, the Pope complains that he hears so little from England. On the other hand the Pope does hear from England, in 1518, that on a state occasion, at court, "little respect was shown to the See Apostolic"; and, in 1525, we learn that Wolsey wrote "sharp though affectionate letters" to the Pope, and the hope is expressed that "His Holiness hath taken this sour sauce, sweetly powdered, to his edification."⁸ All these things point in one direction; but they must have come to nothing, because Wolsey was all the time acting as legate and representative of the Pope, and could not, therefore, touch that

⁸ J. H. Blunt's "History," etc. p. 240. See also p. 54.

which was the fountain and origin of so many evils, especially of those which affected the constitution of the Church, namely "the secularized ecclesiastical power of the Pope."

The question as to the lawfulness of the King's marriage simply brought already existing anti-papal influences and tendencies to a focus; and gave the occasion for turning ineffective or partially effective objections and protests into effective action. But this was all it did. It was not, in any proper sense of the term, the cause of the Reformation.

Nor does the character of such an occasion determine, or even affect, the character of a movement to which it furnishes the opportunity for action. If reasonable and sufficient causes for the movement exist, if it is directed by those causes and controlled by great and true principles and laws, then its character is to be judged by those causes, principles and laws, and not by a mere incident in its progress. We note the incident, indeed, but then we leave it. It may be very paltry or even vile; its paltriness or vileness leaves no

stain on the movement into the real life of which it does not enter, and with which it has no necessary or inherent connection. Let the question, then, as to the King's marriage be as paltry or vile as one pleases, let there be involved in it what you will of "inordinate and sinful affections" on his part, and of infinite servility and cringing on the part of those who acted with him, these are not the things by which we estimate, or ought to estimate, the character of the English Reformation. That character must be determined simply by the necessities which led to it, and the way in which those necessities were met.

It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that the two great underlying questions in this matter were neither paltry nor vile. It is customary to speak of Henry's demand for a divorce from his queen. But the real point at issue was, not whether there should be a divorce of parties joined in an undoubtedly lawful marriage, but whether the marriage itself was not unlawful and therefore *ipso*

facto null and void. Henry had been married, as we all know, to his brother Arthur's widow under a dispensation from Julius II. The question, then, as to the lawfulness of the marriage, clearly brought up two other questions, on the answers to which the main answer must depend; first, Is marriage with a brother's widow forbidden by the law of God? and secondly, If it is forbidden, can the Pope dispense with a law of God? I only state the questions. But it is obvious at a glance that if the first is answered in the affirmative, then a similar answer to the second involves consequences that are simply appalling.

Nor was the question a mere afterthought. It had been agitated at the time of the betrothal, and Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, strongly opposed any application for a dispensation from Rome. There were also, even then, "murmurings of the people" against the match. Later on, the King's anxieties, and possibly superstitious fears, were awakened by the failure of any male issue and the sole

survivorship of the Princess Mary; and the realm was disturbed by the dread of a disputed succession to the crown, a dread intensified by the remembrances of the wars of the roses. Nor may it be forgotten that in 1527 when "negotiations were in progress with reference to a contemplated marriage between the Princess Mary and one of the two sons of the king of France," the French envoy—then a bishop and afterwards a cardinal—"raised an objection against it that the Pope had exceeded his powers in granting a dispensation for the marriage of Henry to Katharine, for that such a union was forbidden by the law of God, not by the law of the Church only; and that, therefore, the marriage was not in fact valid, nor the Princess Mary a lawful daughter of the King."⁹

⁹ J. H. Blunt's "History," etc., pp. 103, 114. Froude's "Hist. of England," vol. i. pp. 114-117. It is safe to say that but for Katharine's dower and the avarice of Henry VII. there would never have been a thought of the marriage. Canon Perry ("Hist. of the English Church," p. 42), asserts that during the negotiations of 1527 Mary's legitimacy was *not* questioned. On the other hand, Le Grand, the French historian of the di-

All this shews that there were matters of the most serious import connected with the marriage and its dissolution which ought not to be set aside as paltry or vile; while, at the same time, it must be freely admitted, that, at last, the most sinful desires actuated the King, and that he, and those who acted with him, adopted methods which can only be condemned. These are undoubtedly great blots on the character of many persons more or less connected with the Reformation, but they have nothing to do with the character of that movement in itself considered.¹⁰

vorce, *who had the French ambassador's papers as authority*, asserts the contrary. This would seem to be conclusive. It would not, however, be right to say as Mr. Froude seems to (vol. i. p. 114, n. 1), that this occasioned the earliest intimation of a desire on the King's part for a divorce. The idea had been entertained as early as 1525 (Perry, p. 41, n. 2), and there is quite sufficient evidence that Wolsey had wrought upon Henry, either directly or by the agency of his confessor. Perry, p. 42, n. 2.

¹⁰ Nothing is said touching the action of Clement VII. because the history of the divorce is not under consideration. I may, however, say in a foot-note, that there is some reason to believe

Indeed it may be said, once for all, that nothing is to be more deprecated than the fashion of encumbering historical researches, and at the same time making their results unreal and unreliable, by the introduction into them of questions touching individual character and personal motives. That good men may, under the influence of mistakes to which human weakness is always liable, espouse a bad cause, does not make that bad cause good. That bad men may, under the influence of evil purposes which it may be made

that the Pope "was actually induced to pronounce the marriage with Katharine invalid (July 23, 1528); though his dread of the Emperor soon afterwards constrained him to repudiate the bull;" and that he did, if documents may be relied on, say to the Bishop of Tarbès, that he wished the King would marry again "either by dispensation of the English Legate, or otherwise, so it was not by his authority, thus diminishing his power as to dispensations," etc.; and did also, in 1530, offer a dispensation for Henry to have two wives. The truth is that Clement's great point all along was to guard, not the purity of marriage, but the papal power; and that he was a mere puppet in the hands of Charles V. or Francis I. as the case might be. See Hardwick's "Reformation," p. 186, n. 1; Froude's "History of England," vol. i. p. 244, n. 1; p. 375, n. 2.

to serve, espouse a good cause, cannot make that good cause bad. *Sol non inquinatur a rê turpi.* Ananias, Sapphira and Simon Magus did not make the Apostolic Church an evil thing. The shortcomings and sins of individual Christians do not change the character of Christianity. And if the vileness and infamies of Alexander VI., Julius II. and Leo X. are not to weigh against the claims of the Roman Church, why should more of weight be given to the alleged ill characters of some of the actors in our English Reformation? Let strict historic justice be done to each and every individual; let each receive his own due meed of praise, or bear his own due burden of reproach. But let not such praise or reproach be transferred from individuals to the systems with which they happen to be connected, except in so far as their characters are the direct results and embodiments of the principles and doctrines which those systems have inculcated. Above all let not our Reformed Church be held responsible for characters which she did not shape, but which are the outcome of a train-

ing and instruction widely different from her own.¹

Meantime we may take comfort in believing that obscurations of historic truth which are caused by exaggerated views of individual character, are likely to be transitory and even ephemeral. It has been well said by one who had a right to say it, "The libellous Foxes and Sanderses, on either side, of the time itself, have been discredited long ago. And the equally perverse crotchitness of some modern partisans—whether it be the love of clever paradox which whitewashes Henry VIII. and vili-

¹ As an instance of the way in which just weights and measures fail to be dealt alike to all, it may be remembered that while, in some quarters, any conceivable amount of obloquy has been poured on Cranmer for his marriage, no notice has been taken of the fact, that unless Wolsey and Campeggio were married they must have lived in concubinage; for the former had a son and a daughter, and a son of the latter was knighted by Henry VIII. See J. H. Blunt's "History," etc., p. 97, n. 4. Still it must be remembered that after compulsory celibacy became the law for the clergy, "lawful marriage was often concealed under the veil of concubinage, the less disreputable alternative according to the ecclesiastical public opinion of the age." Pryce, "Ancient British Church," p. 205.

fies the Church, or the equally perverse extravagance which in the opposite direction delights to blacken Cranmer—are mere eccentricities that will make no mark.”²

I turn from these topics which have engrossed more time and space than I intended, but which must have been considered somewhere, to the special subject of this lecture, the abrogation of the Papal Jurisdiction in England. In the classification of the necessary lines of reformation, constitutional, ritual and doctrinal, this reform stands first. And as it stands first, and everywhere presents itself, so it also lies at the root of all else; for no other reforms could have been successfully attempted till this wrong had been dealt with. Wolsey's failure, for in spite of any partial results it was a failure, abundantly proves this.

On what law then of the Catholic Church, on what venerable prescription carrying a power as potent as canon or enactment, on what consent of the realm of England given by the ec-

² Haddan, “Remains,” p. 369.

clesiastical and secular powers, did the papal jurisdiction in England rest; so rest, that it might not be disturbed without violating compacts in the State and causing a schism in the Church? These are the questions that meet us when we face that "mysterious shape of sovereignty" which holds in one hand the sword of secular power, and in the other the rod of spiritual dominion. The answer to them opens before us a range of time and events of which I can only touch the salient points in attempting to gather up its testimony.

It is not till the fifth century that the British Church fairly appears as the Church of the nation. There was, no doubt, a Church in Britain before that period; but it was "scanty in numbers and poor in wealth," and it "appears in history as simply following the lead of the Western Church in general, and specially of the Gallic." Nor is it identified with the nation till "a short time before the Saxon invasion."³ Amid all the uncertain legends and

³ Haddan's "Remains," pp. 232, 235.

traditions of its earlier days, and all the history of its later period, one fact stands prominently out. Its testimony is negative rather than positive, but under the circumstances the more valuable for that very reason. The Church of Britain was simply ignorant not merely of any supremacy of the Pope as of divine right, but of any claim on his part as Patriarch of the West.⁴ There was not even that deferential affection which a national Church gives back to another to which it owes its origin. Any such feeling is directed toward the Gallic Church. There is no recorded opposition, because there was nothing to oppose. There was no protest, because there was nothing to protest against.

Roman writers are wont to make much of two things claimed for this period; first the

⁴ The Roman patriarchate included the ten provinces placed civilly under the *Vicarius urbis*, namely, Italy, south of the Italic Diocese, and the three adjacent islands. Bingham, B. ix. c. i. Sec. 9. ff.; Palmer, "Origines Liturg," vol. ii. p. 260. ff.; Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 62, n. 2; Fulwood, "*Roma Ruit*," c. iv.

story of Lucius, a British King, and Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome in the latter part of the second century; and secondly, the presence of British bishops at the Council of Sardica, in 347.

The story about Lucius is, in brief, this. He, being King of Britain, or at least a British king, sent to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, (A. D. 174-186?), asking that he might "by his commission be made a Christian;" and, that missionaries were thereupon sent to Britain, whose mission ended in the conversion of the British nation, and brought its Church under the papal rule.

The germ of this tale first appears in the *Catalogus Pontificum*, in what may be called its second edition, which comes down to 527. It merely mentions a letter from Lucius; this being the first notice of it after more than three centuries from its asserted date. As time went on the story was variously enlarged, and adorned with circumstances. Bede took it from the *Catalogus* and introduced it into England. Then, more than three hundred

years after Bede's death, a letter from Eleutherus to Lucius appears "of all the odd places in the world, in a sort of appendix to the Laws of Edward the Confessor." Were this letter genuine it would make strongly *against* the legend. For in it Lucius is mentioned as demanding not the Christian religion, but the Roman civil law; and the Pope refers him to the Scriptures as the place where he can find sufficing laws, and that on the ground that Lucius is "God's sole vicerent" and "vicar" in his own kingdom. But the letter is only a clumsy forgery,—unless indeed Eleutherus was endowed with so wonderful a prophetic gift as to be able to quote prophetically a work not extant in his day. For "the translations of Holy Scripture found in the letter are translations made by Jerome, who did not exist till nearly two centuries after the Pope who is said to have written the letter." We may safely dismiss the story with the caustic remark of an old writer, that it resembles the dry and mouldy bread of the Gibeonites which was baked

in ovens nearer home than the Israelites imagined.⁵

It is also claimed that British bishops having been present at the Council of Sardica, in 347, and having joined in enacting its canons, the British Church was thereby brought under the appellate jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. "In the third canon" of that council "it is said, that 'if any bishop thought he had good reason' to appeal from a provincial judgment of his case, and to desire a new trial, he should write to Julius, Bishop of Rome;" and the Bishop of Rome, if he thought fit, might name new judges, or he might order the case to be tried again by the provincial bishops, or send presbyters from his side (*ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλευροῦ*, legates), to try it.⁶

Now without questioning the presence of

⁵ Haddan's "Remains," p. 227; Bright's "Early Eng. Ch.," p. 3; Bennett, "Church's Broken Unity," Romanism, i. p. 17. ff. The latest version of the story which I have seen is in the Abbé Darras' "*Hist. Gen. de l'Église*," vol. i. p. 137. He tells the tale as calmly as if it were indubitably true.

⁶ Hussey, "Rise of the Papal Power," p. 4.

British bishops⁷ or the genuineness of the canons, or pressing the point, urged by Gallican divines, that this appellate power was given only personally to Julius, and did not pass to his successors, there are still several things to be carefully noted.

It is obvious, to begin with, that *new* powers are conferred by the canons instead of ancient or existing ones being recognized.⁸ There is no reference as at Nice to the "ancient customs," or at Constantinople to previous canons, or at Ephesus to the Canons of the holy Fathers. The legislation does

⁷ It is doubtful if they were present, or had any other connection with the Council than to accept its vindication of Athanasius. The letter of the Council makes no mention of Britain.

⁸ De Marca says, "The words of the Canon prove that the institution of this right was new. If it please you, says Hosius Bishop of Cordova, who presided over the Council, let us honor the memory of the Apostle Peter. He says not that the ancient tradition was to be confirmed, as was wont to be done in matters which only require the renewal or explanation of an ancient right." Quoted by Allies, "Church of England cleared from the Sin of Schism," p. 76. See also Innet's "*Origines Anglicanæ*," pp. 182-186.

not recognize an existing power, it creates a new one. Its testimony therefore is fatal to any prescriptive jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

But what is the power created? One which depended entirely on the action of others, and gave the Bishop of Rome no authority to originate action for himself. If a bishop considered himself wronged by his comprovincials he might appeal to Rome, but the Roman bishop had no permission to act till his action was invoked, and there was not given him authority "to evoke causes to Rome, *nor* to summon bishops *ex-officio*, *nor* to proceed to review and set aside the judgments of Councils."⁹ Nor was appeal allowed in any and all cases, but only in one, "namely, when a bishop was deposed by his comprovincials."¹⁰ All this confers no patriarchal power, and brings no church which was not a part of the Roman patriarchate—as the British Church assuredly was not—under the patriarchal ju-

⁹ Hussey, p. 5.

¹⁰ Hefele, "Hist. of Church Councils," vol. ii. p. 125.

risdiction of the Bishop of Rome. There is, in point of fact, no record of any appeal to Rome in the history of the British Church. The first instance of it is found in Wilfred's first appeal in 678.

Moreover, the Council of Sardica is only a provincial council at the utmost, and its decrees are therefore open to review and reversal by a General Council. Such review and reversal were made by the second General Council, that of Constantinople in 381, which orders that "in each ecclesiastical province the Provincial Synod shall govern,"¹ by which provision, as even Hefele admits, "the appeal to Rome was excluded."²

There is, then, no evidence that the Papacy acquired any jurisdiction over the British Church either by the conversion of the

¹ Canon II. Compare also Can. XIX. of Chalcedon.

² "History of Church Councils," vol. ii. 356. On the whole subject, see Hussey, *ut sup.*, pp. 1-12; Hefele, vol. ii. pp. 112-129; Fulwood, c. xix., § xi.; Bramhall, "Works," Fol. 1677, p. 267; Guettée, "The Papacy," Am. Ed. pp. 124-128; Pryce, "Ancient British Church," pp. 97-99.

nation or by ecclesiastical enactment; while the circumstances of Augustine's interviews with the British bishops not only shew that no such jurisdiction had been acquired by prescription, by unwritten usage and accepted act, but also that there had been no connection of any sort with the See of Rome.

I have dwelt the longer on this matter for a reason which will presently appear in connection with the question, often asked, granting all that has been said, did not the Bishop of Rome acquire jurisdiction in England by the mission of Augustine, in 597, and its results? The answer is perfectly plain on every principle of ecclesiastical law. There was a church in England when Augustine came thither. It had been in fact, it was then in right, the national Church of the land. Trodden down it may have been by the heathen, pushed into the corners and by-places of the land, if you will into "dens and caves of the earth," yet still the Church of Britain with its canonical rights and immunities, protected in them by that great canon of the

Council of Ephesus, in 431, which covers with the shield of law our Anglican position, and stamps the papal claims on England as illegal and a usurpation. These are the words of the Canon: "None of the most religious bishops shall invade any other province, which has not heretofore from the beginning been under the hand of himself or his predecessors. But if any one has so invaded a province and brought it by force under himself, he shall restore it, that the canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed, nor the pride of secular dominion be privily introduced under the appearance of a sacred office, nor we lose, little by little, the freedom which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has given us by His own blood."³

³ Canon VIII. Each metropolitan was allowed "to take a copy of the things transacted for his own security." The Canon, it will be observed, accords with Canons XIV. and XV. of the Council of Antioch, in 341, and not with that of Sardica in 347. Antioch was one of the five local councils, the canons of which, collected into one code, were accepted by the Council of Chalcedon, and stamped with the authority of that, the fourth, General Council.

On this canon, therefore, we take our stand. It justifies every resistance to the usurpations of the papacy from the action in the case of Wilfred in 678 to the final rejection of the papacy in 1534. And more than this, it contains a prophetic foreshadowing of the way in which "little by little . . . the pride of secular dominion" was "privily introduced under the appearance of a sacred office," and so national churches lost the freedom which Christ had given them and became subject to papal bondage.

It is, then, nothing to the purpose to say that Gregory I. wrote to Augustine⁴ that he committed all the British bishops to his authority. This was just what he could not lawfully do, what the British bishops had an entire right under the Ephesine canon to resist, and what they did resist. Nor can we believe that Gregory, who had stigmatized the title of universal bishop, and the claims it carries with it, as "proud, rash, foolish, wicked, blasphemous, and anti-Christian,"⁵ could have

⁴ Ep. xi. 64.

⁵ Bright, "Early Eng. Church," p. 62, n. 3 and references.

undertaken to act on the ground of the universal jurisdiction of the Roman bishop. In all probability British bishops were scarcely in Gregory's thoughts at all. So entire had been the separation of the churches that to him they were little more than shadowy phantoms, to be disposed of as easily as might be.

It may still be said, notwithstanding the Ephesine canon, was not some jurisdiction over England gained somehow through the conversion of England by Augustine? Some and somehow are rather vague terms, but a negative general will, I suppose, cover them. Among all the romances of history there is scarcely one that is greater than the attribution of the conversion of England to the labors of Augustine and his companions, or to the mission from Rome in any way. I content myself with simply quoting the well weighed and true words of Mr. Haddan: "If Augustine is to be the Hengist of the Christian conquest, his merits must be reduced to the proportions assigned by later philosophical historians to

his secular prototype; and the Christianizing as the Teutonizing of the island beyond the narrow limits of Kent must be assigned to others." To these may be added the equally true words of Mr. Bennett: "For one hundred years or nearly so after the arrival of St. Augustine, not a single county north of the Thames, except perhaps Norfolk and Suffolk had received Christianity through the instrumentality of Rome;" all the rest of England was converted by the labors "of the Irish Scots; a Church altogether repudiating Roman interference, denying Roman jurisdiction, and upholding an Apostolic succession."⁶

I do not for a moment mean to say that any conversion of a heathen people or any aid extended to an oppressed and suffering Church, or to an oppressed and suffering minority in any Church striving to maintain or to recover the Catholic Faith or Order in the face of heresy at home or usurpation from abroad, can give the Church that converts

⁶ Haddan, *ut sup.*, pp. 316, 317. Bennett, *ut sup.*, pp. 104, 105.

or aids lawful jurisdiction over the nation it converts or the body it assists. In the one case, as appears over and over again in the early conversions of peoples and nations, a national and autonomous Church is founded. In the other, as is shewn by abundant illustrations in the history of Arianism, no jurisdiction is acquired from the outside, there is only reintegration and restoration within; in some instances, deliverance from an obtruded and really foreign episcopate.

There being, therefore, no jurisdiction of Rome over England acquired by prescription of patriarchal right, by conversion of heathen peoples, or by aid, if there was any, afforded to the ancient national Church of the country; and such jurisdiction being made illegal and void (unless held from the beginning), by the Ephesine canon, it becomes a usurpation to be resisted and rejected. That such resistance was long in becoming rejection only shews how strong were the circumstances,—the force, or the fraud,—that were to be conquered. That rejection came at last, only proves that

in this, as in many other cases, right was slow in overcoming wrong.

And yet there was continuous resistance. It is enough here to mention the case of Wilfred closed in 706, the laws of Edward the Confessor, the various quarrels with Rome touching exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction, the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164, the resistance to Otho the papal legate in 1237, the parliamentary refusal of tribute in 1365, and the enactments against papal provisions in England by statutes of Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry V. I name these simply as instances illustrating and proving the statement already quoted "that the Crown and Church of England with a steady opposition, resisted the entrance and encroachment of the secularized ecclesiastical power of the Pope in England."⁷

We have reached, at last, the reign of Henry

⁷ See Bramhall's "Just Vindication of the Church of England," and his Reply to the Bishop of Chalcedon; Hart's "Eccl. Records," c. ii.; Stephens's "English Constitution," vol. i. pp. 178-207.

VIII., and are to consider the steps by which the final rejection of the papal power was effected. In the earlier part of his reign, Henry was the devoted adherent of the Papacy, and for his devotion, as exhibited in his work against Luther, received from Leo X., the title of "Defender of the Faith." How thorough his devotion was appears from the testimony of Sir Thomas More. More had ventured to give the King his opinion that the Pope's authority had been pushed too far in the treatise against Luther, and had reminded him of the statute of Richard II. The King replied, "We and all Christians are so much bound to the See of Rome that we cannot do it too much honor. . . . Whatsoever impediment be to the contrary, we will set forth, for our parts, his authority to the utmost as it deserved; for from that See we first received our faith and after our imperial crown and sceptre; which," More adds, "till his grace with his own mouth told me, I never heard of before."⁸ But this devotion of the King was

⁸ Wordsworth, "Ecclesiastical Biography," vol. ii., p. 169.

by no means shared in by other powerful persons or by the body of the clergy and people. What More thought we have just seen. Wolsey's administration was far from favorable to the papal power. As has been said before, there are complaints from Rome at hearing nothing from England; sharp letters go to the Pope; money payments are withheld; indulgences cannot be sold in the realm without royal license; the tenth is refused; and altogether the relations of Rome and England are greatly disturbed. "The jurisdiction of the papal see over the Church of England was already rotting away before Henry VIII. laid the axe to its roots; and it was its moral rottenness which made its destruction so comparatively easy."⁹

No direct step was taken till more than a year after the avocation of the divorce case to Rome, an act which was nothing less than an "outrageous provocation offered to an independent sovereign"¹⁰ and to the entire realm. Nor was that step a violent one. In Septem-

⁹ Blunt, "Reformation," p. 245.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 247.

ber, 1530, the King issued a proclamation, expressed substantially in the words of the law of Richard II., forbidding the admission into the kingdom of bulls from Rome. Had Henry listened to More ten years earlier, he might have been saved the mortification of eating his own words. The proclamation, however, neither asserted nor claimed any new power. It simply brought into action an existing law, passed in 1393; violations of which had been connived at, indeed, but had never been lawful. It looked back over a long past and also foreshadowed a rapidly approaching end.

The next step, and it deserves careful consideration, was taken by Convocation in 1531, in a petition to the Crown.¹ This petition set forth the hardships and vexations which the bishops experienced in being compelled to pay, as the price of the bulls for consecration, "the annates, that is to say, the first fruits

¹ The original document is in the British Museum. Blunt gives it at length, "Reformation," p. 250, ff. See also Dixon's "History of the Church of England," etc. vol. i. p. 113, ff.

of their bishoprics.”² It then asserts that the annates “as touching the temporalities belongeth of right to the King’s Grace, and as touching the spirituality to the Archbishop of Canterbury.” It sets forth the temporal allegiance of bishops to the Crown, and asks for the abolition of the exaction. The pith of the document is in its close, in which the King is requested, in case the Pope should “make any process for retaining these annates,” or withhold the bishops’ bulls till they are paid, “to ordain, in this present parliament, that then *the obedience of him and the people be withdrawn from the See of Rome,*” as the King of France had formerly withdrawn his obedience and that of his subjects from Benedict XIII.

² First fruits, were, in their beginning, a simoniacal contrivance by which *foreigners* appointed by the Pope to benefices in England paid him the first year’s rent of the benefice, under pretext of carrying on the wars for regaining the Holy Land. But at last they were extended to all persons appointed by the King or his temporal subjects. How great this burden had become, and how it drained the kingdom, may be seen from the estimate that, from 1486, £45,000 or \$225,000 of our money had annually gone in this way.

In accordance with this suggestion Parliament passed an act³ ordaining that "all payments of first fruits to the court of Rome should be put down and forever restrained." Unwilling, however, to go to extremities, it left the final ordering of the statute to the King, who put it in force by letters patent in 1533.⁴

Following on this beginning came, in 1532-3, the prohibition of Appeals to Rome. I have already spoken of this matter, as it was alleged to affect the early English Church, and shewn that appeals had no place in that Church's polity. Nor, indeed, did they become at all

³ 23 Hen. VIII. c. xxxiii. See Stephen's "Eng. Constitution," vol. i. p. 185.

⁴ Henry, instead of restoring the first fruits to the Church vested them in the Crown. So they continued till 1704, when, at the instance of Queen Anne and to carry out her generous offer of relinquishing them, Parliament passed a bill vesting them in trustees for the augmentation of poorer livings. This trust is known as "Queen Anne's Bounty." Burnet, with his usual fussy and conceited self-complacency, takes the credit of the transaction to himself. "The Queen was pleased to let it be known that the first motion of this matter came from *Me*." Palin, "Hist. of Ch. of Eng.," etc. p. 253, ff.

an established usage till after the reign of Henry II.⁵ There was no warrant for them in the ancient law of the Church, rather that law entirely condemned them; and they involved delays, exactions and abuses that were simply intolerable.

The preamble of the "Act for Restraining Appeals," is so remarkable, and so distinctly illustrates some of the grounds and principles of the English Reformation, that I shall venture to give it nearly entire.

"Whereas, by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an *empire*, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one *supreme head* and King, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same; unto whom a body politic, compact of all *sorts* and *degrees* of people, divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporalty, be bound and ought to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience; he being also institute

⁵ Gibson's "Codex," Tit. III. c. iii. n. g.

and furnished with plenary power . . . to render and yield justice and *final determination to all manner of folk*, residents or subjects within this his realm; the body spiritual whereof having power when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question and the law temporal for trial of property of lands and goods, and for the conservation of the people of this realm in unity and peace . . . was and is yet administered by sundry judges and ministers of the other part of the body politic called the temporalty." After this striking preamble, the Act appeals to the ancient laws of the realm, recites some of the many grievances of appeals to Rome, abolishes such appeals, and provides that appeals shall lie from the archdeacon's court to the bishop's, and from the bishop's to the archbishop's, where final judgment shall be given.⁶

⁶ In cases affecting the Crown the appeal lay to the Upper House of Convocation. 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, Gibson's "Codex," Title III. c. iii. "The Act for Submission of the Clergy" (25 Hen. VIII. c. xix), made no exception as to causes touching the Crown, but allowed, "for all manner of causes," a final appeal

This enactment cut the tap-root of papal jurisdiction in England, nor, with the exception of the brief reign of Mary, has that jurisdiction ever been revived.

I pass by here, merely mentioning it, the Act of 1533,⁷ abolishing the papal power in the appointment of bishops (because its pro-

to "the King in Chancery," who, thereupon, appointed, under the great seal, a Court of Delegates to determine the appeal. Even after this, the King in Council could appoint a Commission of Review. This arrangement continued till the reign of William IV. Then, by Statute 2 and 3 of William IV., the Court of Delegates was abolished, and the King in Council was to exercise all the powers of that Court; and, also, by statute of 3 and 4 of William IV., "the Crown was empowered to remit the hearing of ecclesiastical appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who were to report their opinion thereon to the King in Council." What is called Lord Penzance's Court has, as all know, come recently into existence, and its Judge is put in place of the old Official Principals of the Provincial Courts of the Southern and Northern Provinces.

It is curious, and worth while, to compare the statements of Bishop Gibson, "Codex," Int. p. xxi, with those of Dr. Pusey, "Royal Supremacy," p. 202, and of Mr. Fremantle, "Eccl. Judg. of Privy Council," Introduction. They are condensed in Brooke's "Six Judgments," etc. Int. p. 38 f.

⁷ 25 Henry VIII. c. 20.

visions will be better treated of in connection with the Royal Supremacy), and proceed to those enactments by which spiritual jurisdiction was transferred from the Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury. These acts were passed,⁸ in 1533-4 and 1536, but as the last was only a sort of "healing act" to cover the case of ecclesiastics who held office from Rome, the first alone is important in our present review. Its title is an "Act Concerning Peter's Pence and Dispensations." Peter's Pence were a gift made on occasion of a visit to Rome about 793 by Offa, King of Mercia, for the maintenance of an English school at Rome "for the instruction of illiterate Englishmen who should travel thither."⁹ Money payments to Rome are, however, apt to continue, whatever may become of the purpose for which they are given. The payment went on till

⁸ 25 Henry VIII. c. 21; and 28 Henry VIII. c. 16; Gibsons' "Codex." Tit. iii. c. v.

⁹ Canon Robertson, "History of the Church," vol. iii. p. 181, dissents from this view. But see Dixon's "Church of England," vol. i. p. 186, first note.

by this Act it was swept away, and with it the last shred of papal exaction in England.

The important part of the Act is found in its earlier portion, and in the three following provisions; that neither sovereign nor subjects shall sue to the Pope, or any of his deputies, for "any Instruments or Writings of what name, kind, nature or quality soever they be of," or for any cause; that all such Dispensations, etc., "shall be henceforth granted to the sovereign and his subjects by the Archbishop of Canterbury, only that in case of Dispensations" of a novel kind "a license from the King or Council shall be required; and that all such Dispensations, etc., shall be held good and valid." The Act further declared that it embodied "much the *old ancient* customs of this realm;" and, most important of all, that it should not be so "interpreted and expounded as if the King his nobles and subjects did intend by the same to decline or vary from the Congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic Faith of Christendom, or in any other things

declared by Holy Scripture and the Word of God.”¹⁰

With this solemn declaration the series of parliamentary enactments touching the usurped papal jurisdiction is concluded. Those portions of it which it had usurped from the civil power were restored to that power; those which it had taken to itself from the National Church were restored to the authorities of that Church; and whatever else there was came to an end.

Side by side with the course of legislation

¹⁰ We meet here the word *Congregation*. Later on Romanists made the use of this word the occasion of an attack on English Versions of the Scriptures. Field, “Of the Church,” book i. c. v., at the end, thus meets the attack: “The reason why our translators, in the beginning, did choose rather to use the word *Congregation* than *Church*, was not, as the adversary maliciously imagineth, for that they feared the very name of the Church; but because, as by the name of *religion* and *religious men*, ordinarily in former times men understood nothing but the professions of monks and friars; so all the ordinary sort, when they heard the name of the Church, understood nothing else thereby but either the *material place* where men met to worship God, or the *clergy*, jurisdictions and temporalities belonging to them. . . . When this error in the conceit and apprehension of men was removed, the former name of Church was more ordinarily used again.”

which has been briefly sketched, there appears a series of enactments, touching the Sovereign and the State in their connection with the Church, which I have purposely reserved for separate treatment; believing that by so doing the two topics, Papal Jurisdiction and Royal Supremacy, might be presented with greater distinctness. One thing, however, must be spoken of before I sum up the principles proclaimed and the results attained in these enactments.

It could not but happen that, in the years during which these things were engrossing the attention of the "spiritualty and temporalty" of the realm, the theological question as to the spiritual power of the Pope in and over National Churches should come to the surface. It was simply unavoidable. The question did present itself, and the English Convocations of Canterbury and York met it by the definitive declaration (in 1534),¹ "that the Bishop of Rome hath no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God, in this Kingdom of England,

¹ Canterbury declared on March 5, 1534, and York on May 5 of the same year.

than any other foreign Bishop." That declaration, subscribed with wonderful unanimity by "bishops, chapters, monasteries, colleges, and hospitals," completed the work which Convocation had begun and which Convocation thus ended. The usurpation was over; and, though for a little while it might revive again, it was never more to find a home in England.

And now what principles are apparent, what results are reached in these enactments—the detail of which has been but wearisome—of Parliament and Convocation? What light is thrown on the spirit, methods, purposes, of the English Reformation?

1. The vision of a National autonomous Church, holding the Faith, Orders, and Liturgy of the Universal Church, and subject only to a free and lawful General Council, which looms up, indistinctly but unmistakably, in the petition of Convocation in 1531, takes on shape and consistency as time advances, till it stands out a living thing in 1534.

2. There is not the smallest thought of separating from the unity of the Catholic Church

of Christ, far less of founding a new Church. The law of historic continuity is all along asserted and acted on.

3. There is no claim of new and before unheard of rights or privileges for Sovereign, Parliament, or Convocation. Nothing is creative, everything is declaratory of rights and privileges once held, since usurped, now restored. And the appeal is constantly that of Nicæa to the "ancient customs."

4. The powers and duties of the spirituality and temporality are recognized if not defined, and their several jurisdictions are asserted. No doubt the theory was also held—for all held it in those days—that spiritual power must have added to it the penal force of civil law, and be exercised "in public courts after a coercive manner." But this does not touch, in principle, the distinction so plainly made.

5. The Pope is acknowledged simply as a Bishop, "the Bishop of Rome, with the jurisdiction defined by the ancient canons."

6. There is no impassioned grasping after some vague idea, some unknown right, some

half-developed theory. No single wrong, nor any single doctrine, is pushed into a prominence and pressed to an extent that destroys the balance of things, and brings in all those evils which result from distorted and dislocated truths.

7. By careful steps and constitutional methods, repellant to those who delight in surprises and effects, situations and displays, but welcomed by all who desire well compacted and well adjusted results, the work goes on. The coat was not torn in pieces in hastily stripping off objectionable fringes.

Surely these are things to be thankful for. And I hold it to be a most noteworthy and significant feature of this whole dealing with the papal usurpation, that it was begun and concluded by the Clergy of England and not by the King or the Parliament.²

² Mr. Blunt has left little for others to do with this subject but to follow in his footsteps and often to use his words. This I have freely done; always however verifying—as it turned out needlessly—any references which were made.

LECTURE IV.

ROYAL SUPREMACY



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ROYAL SUPREMACY.

INTIMATELY connected with the action of the Convocation and Parliament of England touching the Papal Jurisdiction, were the enactments concerning the relations of the Crown to the Church, called,—by a not very felicitous choice of terms,—the Royal Supremacy. This is the topic which now claims our attention.

There is, I suppose, in the minds of many people, a vague notion that at the period of the Reformation the State, as one party, and the Church of England, as another party, entered into some contract or concordat under which, by some special Act of Parliament, the latter became the Church by law established.

Nothing can be further from the truth. “The Church of England could not have been established by Act of Parliament, for

she existed as the established Church of the Country hundreds of years before Parliament came into being. The phrase '*by law established*' is misleading when applied to the Church in the sense of her having been created or constituted by any human law whatsoever, whether promulgated by kingly decree or enacted by Act of Parliament. In no such sense, in any Church or State document where it appears, is it so used, or so intended to be understood. When the Church of England is spoken of as '*by law established*,' nothing more is to be understood," because nothing more is meant, "than that her Constitution, Doctrine, Liturgy and various offices having been drawn up and agreed to by her representatives; received the sanction of the State, and that the observance of them is enforceable by law on those who are her ministers or members; further that she is protected in the enjoyment of her rights, privileges and endowments"—as what religious body or civil corporation is not? —"by the law of the land; and that hers is the recognized ecclesiastical organization and form

of worship through which the heads of the State perform all public religious acts.”³ The State never gave the Church its organization nor ordered its government. It would be far more correct to say that the Church in England shaped the State. Indeed the latest historian of the English people does say, that the synods of the Church “led the way by their example to national parliaments; the canons which these synods enacted led the way to a national system of law.”⁴ The State, then, never established the Church by any statute or act. The National Church grew up with the national life, side by side with the civil polity of the nation.

The State never endowed the Church of England as a body. Cathedral churches and bishops’ sees were endowed by individual gifts to individual sees and cathedrals, gifts frequently bestowed by kings and princes. Parish churches, chapels, chantries and even monasteries were endowed in the same way, and

³ “Englishman’s Brief,” p. 13.

⁴ Green, “Hist. of the Eng. People,” vol. i. p. 59. Am. Ed.

"the Norman conquest found the whole land provided with churches," and subdivided into parishes. None of those endowments depended on Acts of Parliament: and while monastic endowments had documentary evidence to offer, parochial endowments rested on custom and prescription. "Domesday Book furnishes direct and unimpeachable testimony on this head."⁵ And what is true of these endowments is also true of what are known as tithes. Parliament never created these. It recognizes their existence in its legislation; it supervises and regulates them; it solves, or undertakes to solve, difficulties connected with them; but it did not create them. It could not. For whether we regard tithes as dating from the sixth century or from the eighth, "they were payable and were paid to the Church," as a

⁵ "Brief," pp. 30-33. It is often supposed that nearly all the endowments of the Church of England ante-date the Reformation. This is a great mistake. The income from endowments, etc., given *since* the Reformation exceeds that from *ante-Reformation* endowments, by about £300,000. See Cutt's "Turning Points in Eng. Ch. History," p. 318. This estimate is as late as 1872.

voluntary rent charge on the land, "long before Parliament existed, or before anything answering to its constitution was even in embryonic being. The payment of tithes is of more ancient date than the Crown of England, the Constitution of England, or the Parliament of England."⁶ By no Statute of Parliament, then, was the Church of England established or endowed.

While, however, the testimony of history puts all this beyond the possibility of doubt, it is equally true that from very early times the English sovereigns had close connections with and intimate relations to the Church. I do not mean to say that from the days of the barbarian conversions, and even from the time of Constantine this was not the case throughout Christendom. I only assert it, specifically, of England. And it may be added, that two things contributed to make these connections and relations especially close and intimate. The first was the mode in which

⁶ "Brief," pp. 33-48; Green, "Hist. of Eng. People," vol. i. p. 59.

the English people were converted to the Faith, by the conversion of the Sovereign first and of his subjects afterwards. The second was the intensely national character of the English Church, which has been already spoken of. It is easy to see how these two things would work together in bringing about the closest relations between Church and Sovereign. The former might operate more directly, but the latter would work not less powerfully; due as it was to "that insular position, that remoteness from the centre of ecclesiastical power, that independent character of its inhabitants, that comparative freedom of its institutions, which gave to national life in England, both civil and ecclesiastical, a complexion of its own."⁷

I need only cite one of the laws of Edward the Confessor to shew you how the relations of the King of England and the Church of England were regarded in the last half of the eleventh century, and before the Norman conquest. "The King, who is the Vicar of the

⁷ Canon Perry, "History" etc., p. 1.

Supreme King, is appointed to this end, that he may rule and defend the kingdom and people of the Lord, and before all the Holy Church, from such as would harm them; and that he may destroy and root out evil doers." The principle embodied in this enactment was recognized, about a century later, in the Constitutions of Clarendon, in which it was enacted that appeals should go from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, "and if the archbishop failed in ministering justice, resort was to be had finally to the lord King, that by his precept the controversy might terminate in the archbishop's court; so that it should go no further without the royal consent."

I do not mean to say that either the laws of Edward the Confessor or the Constitutions of Clarendon created the relations which they declare, between the Sovereign and the Church of England. If history can be relied on, those relations are nearly "two centuries older than the revival by Charles the Great of the Roman Empire, and more than two centuries

older than the recognized kingdom of all England.”⁸ The enactments are declaratory, not creative.

It is no doubt true that Theodore of Tarsus, the seventh archbishop of Canterbury (who was sent to England in 608 by the then Pope, at the request of the kings of Northumbria and Kent),⁹ did much to bring the island into nearer relations with the Bishop of Rome. He did not, however, whether he intended it or not, subjugate the Church of England to the Pope. “When, for example an attempt was made to enforce the *mandates* of the Pope as distinguished from his fatherly advice, it met with a vigorous repulse from two successive kings, assisted by their clergy, who

⁸ “Church Quarterly Review,” Oct. 1876, p. 232. “The union of Church and State dated, in fact, from the very first appearance of the Church in the English realms, and became so blended with the Constitution itself as to have been compared to the mysterious and inseparable connection between the soul and body of an individual man.” Brooke’s “Six Judgments of Privy Council,” Int. p. xiv.; Comp. Hook’s “Lives of Archbishops,” vol. iii., Introd.

⁹ Bede, “Eccl. Hist,” book iii., c. 29. iv. c. 1.

thus stand at the head of a line of champions in the cause of English freedom." It is also true that William the Conqueror separated the temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and ordered bishops to hold courts of their own, but "the severance was effected by, and the new courts derived their jurisdiction from the Crown with the advice of the Great Council."¹⁰ I do not know that anything need be added to show you what was the ancient rule as to the Sovereign and the Church in the realm of England.

The slightest acquaintance with English history will suffice to convince any man that this rule of relation had been perpetually disturbed, and even broken up, by the long continued and persistent usurpations of the papacy; and that, in any practical reform of the English Church its readjustment must challenge attention and action. We need not inquire whether the rule was the best that could be devised or not. The existing evil was pres-

¹⁰ Hardwick, "Middle Ages," p. 16, n. 1, and Brooke, "Six Judgments," etc., Int. p. xiv. xv.

ent and pressing. It had been superinduced upon a former condition of things which had a strong hold upon the memories and the affections of Englishmen; and which was specially connected with the name of the Confessor, of whom it has been said, "His was the one figure that stood out bright against the darkness when England lay trodden underfoot by Norman conquerors; and so dear became his memory that liberty and independence itself seemed incarnate in his name."¹ How strong and lasting this feeling was is proved by the striking fact that from, at least, the time of Edward II., in 1308, till the Revolution of 1688, the sovereigns of England either in the coronation oath or in promises connected with it were pledged to maintain for the realm the laws of Edward the Confessor.² What could be more natural than to recur to this ancient order? What could seem more practi-

¹ Green, "History," etc., vol. i. p. 104.

² Taylor's "Glory of Regality," pp. 329, ff. 409. William the Conqueror and Henry I. were both compelled to promise the maintenance of these laws.

cal, as all men's thoughts then ran, than to remove the later writing in the palimpsest, and recover the older which it had displaced? Our present questions, then are these: Was this recurrence made? In making it was any breach effected with the past in the historic Church of England? These queries can be answered only by considering what was actually done at the period of our Reformation; not, I beg you to observe, what Henry VIII. wished to do; not what he attempted to do by the help of servile ecclesiastics or servile politicians; not what he did, or what others after him have done, by disregard or perversion of law; but what was actually done by joint action of Church and State; what, by such joint action, became the law of the Church and the Realm, whoever might evade it or violate it then, or in time to come.

Leaving to one side needless historical details, we shall find our inquiries fastening on four things: the *Præmunire* of 1529-31, the Submission of the Clergy in 1532, the Statute of the Appointment of Bishops in 1533, and

the Act of Supremacy of 1534. There can, I think, be no doubt that the purposes of Henry all through, were selfishly and outrageously tyrannical; that he was attacking not merely the usurped jurisdiction of the papacy but the liberties of the Church of England solemnly secured by *Magna Charta*,³ and that whenever he could he overrode the limitations of law in favor of his own good pleasure. However, as has just been said, it is not what Henry purposed or did, but what the law *was* that we are concerned to know. Let it never be forgotten that the Reformed Church of England is in no way responsible for Henry VIII.

In 1529, Wolsey had been brought, most unfairly, under the operation of the statute of Præmunire for exercising his legatine office in England. I say unfairly, because the King "had granted him a license under the great seal to use the authority of a legate,

³ The first provision of *Magna Charta*, as confirmed by Henry III. is, that "the Church of England shall be free." Gibson's "Codex," etc., vol i. p. 1.

and had allowed the function of legate to be discharged by him for fifteen years.”⁴ That however was as nothing to Henry. The statute was applied, and the late all-powerful favorite became an outlaw from the royal protection, and incurred the forfeiture of his “lands, tenements, goods and chattels” to the Crown. Nor did the matter end here. The statute of Richard II., under the operation of which Wolsey had been brought, provided that all “abettors, maintainers, fautors and counsellors” of one who should violate it were to incur the same penalties as the principal. So that the entire clergy and all the laity of the kingdom—in other words the whole realm—lay at the mercy of the King, and were liable to forfeiture of goods and even life unless he should be moved to pardon them! A more arbitrary and monstrous proceeding can hardly be imagined.

As to the laity, it is enough to say that after servile submission on the part of the commons

⁴ Dixon, “History,” etc. vol. i. p. 46.

and sharp reproof on that of the King, followed by a brief delay, the pardon was issued and the nation relieved. In the case of the clergy, it was only by the payment of an enormous fine⁵ that their release was secured.

When the Act, by which its share of this fine was to be guaranteed, came before the Convocation of Canterbury, a new title for the Sovereign was found in its preamble, in the words "The English Church and Clergy, of which he (the King) alone is Protector and Supreme Head."⁶ The words were probably introduced by the advice of Thomas Cromwell, and mark the beginning of his injurious intermeddling with the Church.⁷ Be that as it may,

⁵ About \$7,500,000 of our money.

⁶ Wilkins, "Conc." iii. p. 725.

⁷ Card. Pole asserts this on what would seem to be sufficient testimony. I do not think Mr. Blunt is quite justified in connecting Cranmer's name with this matter, on the ground that in an *alleged* conversation with Fox and Gardiner concerning *the divorce*; he spoke of the King as supreme over all causes in the realm to the exclusion of the Pope and all other foreign potentates. He only asserted in this an undeniable historic fact. "Reformation," p. 204.

Convocation refused to pass the preamble with the new title, and thus the title sought for was rejected. Another was then proposed; so that the words should read, "of which he, *after God*, is the Protector and Supreme Head." This might not have seemed to differ much from, certainly not to go beyond, the words of the laws of Edward the Confessor "the Vicar of the Supreme King." It was, however, rejected; for fear, no doubt, that under it the Sovereign might claim spiritual power and even authority of ministering in holy things.

At this juncture of affairs Archbishop Warham presented to Convocation a third proposition, namely that the words of the preamble should be, "The English Church and Clergy, of which we recognize his majesty as the singular protector, the sole and supreme ruler, and *even, so far as is allowed by the law of Christ*, the Supreme Head." And with this form the King was obliged, however unwillingly, to content himself.

The Convocation of York accepted the pre-

amble with even less readiness than that of Canterbury. Tunstal, Bishop of Durham,⁸ who in the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see presided, spoke with great clearness and moderation upon the subject; limiting the supremacy to temporal matters; saying, "*that*, we are all willing to acknowledge"; and adding, "with this explanation the English clergy and particularly myself are willing to go to the utmost length in the recognition." Still he complained of the ambiguity of the title, and the easy possibility of its perversion. All this brought out explanations from the King. He intended, indeed, to claim power and jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons as well as civil magistrates; "but he meant no intrusion into the sacerdotal functions. Only so far as spiritual things included property and justice, whatever power was necessary to preserve the peace of society was comprehended in the commission borne by the supreme ruler."

⁸ Walter Haddon in his epitaph on Tunstal calls him, *aureus iste senex*.

In all this there is, surely, nothing to object to. There is almost nothing beyond the power of review which civil courts in our own country and our own time claim. The title itself, as I have already said, does not at all go beyond that given to Edward the Confessor; there is really nothing in it but "the strong assertion of an ancient right"; a right which nobody was disposed to deny.⁹ It is, therefore, a reassertion of ancient usage, and effects no break with the past of the historic Church of England.

Before we leave this matter of the royal title one thing more must be considered. By adopting the preamble of an act in which it was simply mentioned—and that only after debate and explanation—the King obtained and the Convocations gave an "incidental recognition of the royal supremacy." Possibly the chief danger of its abuse lay in this very thing; the lack of definite assertions and limitations. Still, we must remember, the

⁹ Dixon, "History," etc., vol. i. pp. 66, 67; Blunt, "History," etc., p. 209.

possibilities covered by this indefiniteness are not all in one direction. If it *gives* room for usurpation and oppression, it also *leaves* room for resistance.

We have next to see how this incidentally and indefinitely asserted supremacy was defined and, as we may say, practically applied. And first, I must speak of what is known as "The Submission of the Clergy" in 1532. This followed on a memorable document addressed by the Commons of England to the King, and known as "The Supplication against the Ordinaries."¹⁰ Some of the complaints in this document were undoubtedly well founded, some were exaggerated, and others had no foundation. It is not at all improbable that the Supplication was due, in the first instance, to royal suggestion. However that may be, the King made it the occasion of immediate action. He sent to Convocation a demand contained in three articles: First, that no constitution or ordinance should be enacted by the

¹⁰ It should be remembered that the title Ordinary did not imply that its holder should of necessity be a bishop.

clergy or put in execution in the realm, without the royal authority and assent.

Second, that whereas many of the provincial constitutions were prejudicial to the King's authority and onerous to his subjects, a commission of thirty-two persons—sixteen from the two houses of parliament and sixteen from the clergy—should be appointed by the King, who should review these canons and abrogate such of them as they saw fit.

Third, that other existing constitutions should stand only when they had received the royal assent.

The sweeping character of these demands shews, I think, what the King's purposes were; namely, to abrogate all the existing laws of the Church and to concentrate the entire law-making power in himself. Had this plan been fully carried out, not one law of the Church would have remained from the past, not one could have been enacted for the future, save at the pleasure of the Sovereign. The subjugation of the Church to the State would have been complete. It was not carried out,

however, and the danger of a break with all the past was avoided. We have now to see what was done, and in what the action resulted.

The third article, which was the really obnoxious one and contained the demand for complete subjugation was, at all hazards, resolutely refused. Refusal involved great and unknown personal dangers, but all risks were bravely incurred, and the refusal was absolute. The King yielded, and the article so fraught with evil was virtually withdrawn.

What was done, and what settled the relations of Convocation and the Crown, is contained in the famous Submission of the Clergy. This Act of Convocation provided that henceforward that body should enact and promulgate no canons or constitutions except as it was licensed by the King to meet for business; that all canons thus passed should receive the royal assent before they were executed or put in ure; and, further, that a commission of thirty-two persons should be appointed by the Crown, at the head of which was to be the

King himself, who should review the existing canons and constitutions, and abrogate such as, in the opinions of "the most part," did not stand with "God's laws and the laws of the realm"; provided, that such as "the most part" determined to be accordant with the laws of God and of the land should, under the royal assent, "stand in full strength and power."

Thus the firmness of Convocation frustrated the tyrannical purposes of the Sovereign; and the demand which would have swept away all existing canon law, placed all present and future ecclesiastical legislation entirely in the Sovereign's hands, and made the Church the merest creature of the State, was refused. It is one of the many instances, too many to be lightly passed by, in which the overruling providence of God has preserved the Church of England from external attacks or internal evils which threatened her destruction.

The commission, I must say in passing, of thirty-two persons to revise the canon law was never appointed in Henry's reign. In

1551, under Edward VI., a commission of eight persons did revise the ecclesiastical law, and their labors resulted in what is known as the *Reformatio Legum*. As this code never received the royal assent, it is only useful for historical appeal as to opinions and principles. It never possessed any legal authority.

Following the Submission of the Clergy came, in 1534, the "Act of Supremacy" passed by Parliament alone. This act recognized the right of the Sovereign—it did not undertake to create it—"to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, connect, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed."¹ This statute undoubtedly gave

¹ 26 Hen. VIII, chap. i. This was followed by another act making it high treason to "attempt to deprive" the King, Queen, or heirs-apparent of "the dignity, title or name of their royal estate, etc." It was a fearful statute, and fearfully used. But it disappeared at the accession of Edward VI.; and at all events is no part of Church history proper.

the King visitatorial power; but it did not confer new power nor power without limitation.

It did not confer new power. If any testimony on this point can be considered sufficient to establish it, the testimony of Gardiner of Winchester, Tunstal of Durham and Stokesley of London must surely suffice. They all agree that "no new thing was introduced when the King was declared to be the Supreme Head." Bracton, in the thirteenth century goes quite as far in speaking of the King as the Act of Supremacy does. Coke and Blackstone both assert that power was *restored* to the Crown not conferred upon it.² Stephens sums all up by saying that the result of the acts was to enable the Sovereign "to *reassume* his own authority, and the prerogatives of his Crown, from which the kings of

² Bracton, repeating the words of the laws of Edward the Confessor, calls the King "*Dei vicarius tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus.*" See all the persons referred to, quoted in Blunt, "Reformation," etc., pp. 230, 233. See, also, Brooke's "Six Privy Council Judgments," p. xi.

England had never formally departed, though they had for a century connived at an invasion and usurpation upon them.”³

Not being a new power created, but an old one recognized, neither was it a power without limitations. In its own revival, its old limitations must revive also, unless specifically barred out by statutory enactment. While, altogether apart from this important consideration, the very wording of the act shows, as has been well said, that the supremacy “is only made a *corrective* jurisdiction, and nothing is said about the *directive* jurisdiction by which the ordinary functions of the Church, when unaffected by offence or dispute, are discharged.”⁴

I think I may claim that the two questions asked some time back are now answered; that we are entitled to say that there was a

³ Stephen’s “Eng. Constitution,” vol. i. p. 193. Article XXXVI. of 1562—XXXVII. of 1571—must also be taken into account. Its testimony is specially to the point because it was passed on account of great perversions of the Supremacy.

⁴ Blunt, “Reformation,” p. 233.

recurrence to ancient usage in all the action we have been reviewing, and that there was no break with the historic part of the English Church. I know, indeed, that the vague wording of the Act of Supremacy left an opportunity for Henry which he was not slow to seize, and of which I shall have occasion almost immediately to speak. But the abuse of an enactment cannot be taken into account in its rightful interpretation. Nor may it be forgotten that the Act of Supremacy was repealed in 1553, and never again revived in its original form. Elizabeth refused the title Supreme Head, and substituted for it that of "Supreme Governor. . . . as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." She also expressly repudiated in an "Admonition to simple men deceived by malicious," all idea of challenging "authority and power of ministry of divine service in the Church." And, moreover, in the statute by which the corrective jurisdiction of the Crown was restored, there were "definite limitations which brought it into agreement with the

common law.”⁵ Since Elizabeth’s time interferences with the proper legislative and judicial functions of the Church have proceeded from Parliament rather than from the Crown.

Let me sum up the matter in the words of Mr. Gladstone: “A supremacy of power in making and administering Church law as well as State law was to vest in the Sovereign; but in making Church laws he was to ratify the acts of the Church represented in Convocation, and if there were need of the highest civil sanctions, to have the aid of Parliament also. In administering Church law he was to discharge this function [ecclesiastical courts remained] through the medium of bishops and divines, canonists and civilians, as her own most fully authorized best instructed sons, following in each case the analogy of his ordinary procedure as head of the State.” This may not be the best ideal settlement of the relations of the Church and the State. But it was assuredly the only one possible in Eng-

⁵ 1 Eliz. c. 1. Sec. 17. Injunctions of 1559, in Sparrow’s “Collections,” (1846), p. 12. Blunt, *ut sup*, p. 234.

land, as men's ideas went, in the sixteenth century; the only one possible if ancient English precedent was to be appealed to, in throwing off the usurped jurisdiction of the papacy. It gave the State, indeed, rights of review, rights of promulgating ecclesiastical laws and "putting them in ure" with the penal sanctions of civil law annexed to them; but it did not make the State the source of spiritual authority, or yield to it any other than a corrective jurisdiction.

Just here the objections may be raised that the appointment of the bishops of the English Church was, by a statute passed in 1533, vested in the Crown, and has so continued ever since⁶; and that bishops received commissions from the Crown, revocable at the royal pleasure, by which they acknowledged themselves to be the officers of the King and nothing more⁷. From these premises the conclusion

⁶ I do not take into account the temporary abrogation of the *congè d' élire* in Edward's reign; for the statute by which it was accomplished was not revived under Elizabeth.

⁷ So Froude asserts, "History," etc. vol. v. p. 23, Am. Ed.

is deduced that the Church became the creature of, and was identified with, the State.

Whatever else *may* be said as to the mode of Episcopal appointment under the Statute of 1533 this at least *must* be said:—No real change from what had been its position all along came upon the Church. The statute itself says of the license issued under the great seal, which authorized election to a vacant see, “as of *old time* hath been accustomed to proceed to the election of an archbishop or bishop of the see so void.” Says Sir William Blackstone, “The very nomination to bishoprics, *that ancient prerogative of the Crown*, was wrested from King Henry the First, and afterwards from his successor King John; and seemingly indeed conferred on the chapters belonging to each see; but by means of the frequent appeals to Rome, through the intricacy of the laws which regulated canonical elections, was eventually vested in the Pope.”⁸ There was, in fact, no real change. The elec-

⁸ “Commentaries,” vol. iv. p. 107, Am. Ed., 1772. Compare Gibson’s “Codex,” vol. i. p. 121, n. a.

tion by the chapter was a legal fiction before 1533 as well as afterwards. The appointment by the Sovereign—leaving out papal interference—was not more a reality after that date than it was before.

What is true of the election of bishops is also true of the commissions taken out in the reign of Henry and renewed in that of Edward. These, no doubt, on their face seemed to assert that all spiritual jurisdiction as well as temporal flowed from the Sovereign; so that, looking only on the surface, careless or prejudiced readers and writers are very likely to conclude that the bishops made themselves, by this act, only officers of the State. Like many another easily reached conclusion, however, this one will not bear investigation.

At the very outset we meet two historic facts which largely modify the conclusion just mentioned. First, these commissions were taken out by sundry bishops, "Lee, Stokesley, Gardiner, Longland, and Tunstal," who were all bishops of the "old learning" as it was called, and whose sentiments as to the source of spir-

itual authority are perfectly well known. Next, in the commissions themselves are found such words as these: "to execute all other parts of episcopal authority, beside and beyond those which, by the Holy Writings are recognized as divinely committed unto thee." This express exception of divinely-given powers, proves, beyond a question, that there was believed to be somewhat in the office of a bishop which did not come from the State; while the retention and use, all along, of the rite of the ordination or consecration of a bishop, shows precisely what that was.⁹

⁹ Canon Liddon thinks that Bonner's commission, which is extant, implies that Thomas Cromwell could have held ordinations had he not been too much occupied, and that, for this reason alone, they were committed to the Bishop of London. I cannot so read his commission, nor that of Cranmer in the reign of Edward VI. Two things are plainly mentioned; first, ordination, second the *finding fit persons* to be ordained and *instituted to benefices*.

Now, considering the distinction so clearly made in the "Institution" between power of *orders* and power of *jurisdiction*, a distinction so familiar to Bonner, Cranmer, and all others, is it not much more likely that what Cromwell was too busy to attend to was, not ordination involving the *potestas ordinis*, but the other

Still, it may be asked, What did the commissions mean? What power were they supposed to convey? The answer to those questions is not far to seek. I shall venture to present it somewhat in detail, inasmuch as it involves principles, the misapprehension of which has left many well-intentioned persons in an obscurity almost cimmerian as to the English Reformation.

In the year 1537 there appeared the Formu-

matters which involved only the *potestas jurisdictionis*? Such an explanation is in accord not only with The Institution of 1537, but also with The Erudition of 1543, which says, that "The nomination, election, presentation, or appointing of ecclesiastical ministers is wholly left unto the positive laws or ordinances of every Christian region, provided and made, or to be made, in that behalf with the assent of the prince and ruler;" and at the same time asserts that the power of ordination is given to bishops by the "*Word of God*." These are the words of that saving clause in the commissions, in which Canon Liddon finds it "difficult to think that the power of ordination was included." On the contrary, it is difficult to see to what else they can possibly refer. If we are to guard against what is called "Anglican optimism," let us not forget that there may be such a thing as Anglican pessimism. See Liddon's "Church Troubles," p. xiii. note 4; Dixon's "History," ii. 168; "Formularies of Henry VIII., his Reign," p. 277.

lary known as the "Institution of a Christian Man." It was drawn up by a commission consisting of all the bishops and twenty-five other divines, and—it is to be specially noted—among the bishops are found all those who took out the commissions from the Crown,—on which such stress has been laid,—in the reign of Henry. Now in that part of the Institution which treats of Holy Orders, the jurisdiction of bishops is discussed at length. Wherefore, inasmuch as the same persons who received commissions of jurisdictions from the Crown here set forth their judgments concerning jurisdiction, we learn from themselves what they understood those commissions to mean; and if there can be such a thing as a decisive contemporaneous exposition, we assuredly obtain it here.

The discussion begins with the assertions that the "whole power and authority belonging unto priests and bishops is divided into two parts, whereof the one is called *potestas ordinis* [the authority of order], and the other is called *potestas jurisdictionis* [authority of

jurisdiction];" and that "good consent and agreement hath always been in the Church concerning the said first part, and, contrary, much controversy for this other part of jurisdiction." Jurisdiction is next declared to consist in three things:

First, excommunication; in regard to which two limitations are insisted on; namely, that "all punishment which priests or bishops may, by the authority of the gospel, inflict or put to any person, *is by word only*, and not by any violence or constraint corporal;" and also that such punishment may be forborne if it shall seem desirable for the well-being of the offender or the peace of the Church:

Secondly, the power to admit to cure of souls in benefices, to which they have been nominated, persons whom they shall judge worthy; the right of nomination to bishoprics being recognized as resting in the Sovereign, and that of presenting to other benefices as vesting in the patron or founder:

Thirdly, the power to make laws and canons touching ecclesiastical ministration.

This entire jurisdiction, considered in itself and as a whole, is by the "authority of the gospel" committed to priests and bishops; yet the "particular order, form, and manner requisite to the execution of the same," the enumeration of offences, the organizing of courts for trial, the citation of offenders and of witnesses, the processes of procedure, the execution of sentences, are not prescribed in Scripture but are left to the decision of the Church. Such decision was to be expressed in "rules and ordinances to be made by the ministers of the Church, with the consent of the people, *before* such time as princes were christened, and *after* they were christened, with the authority and consent of the said princes and their people."

Then comes the conclusion. "It is out of all doubt that the priests and bishops never had any authority by the gospel to punish any man by corporal violence; and therefore they were oftentimes moved of necessity to require Christian princes to interpose their authority, and by the same to constrain and

reduce inobedient persons unto the obedience and good order of the Church; which the Christian princes not only did gladly execute, but did also give unto priests and bishops further power and jurisdiction in certain other temporal and civil matters. . . . And therefore it *was* and shall be always lawful unto the said kings and princes, and their successors, with the consent of their parliaments, to revoke and call again into their own hands, or otherwise to restrain all the power and jurisdiction which was given and assigned unto priests and bishops by the license, consent, sufferance and authority of the said kings and princes, *and not by the authority of God and His gospel*, whensoever they shall have such grounds and causes so to do as shall be necessary, wholesome and expedient.”¹⁰

¹⁰ “Formularies of the Reign of Henry VIII.,” p. 107, ff., Oxf. 1825. Dixon, “History,” vol. ii., p. 167, 168. In 1825, in an examination before a select committee of Parliament, the Irish Roman Bishop Murray testified, that the Pope could exercise temporal power in states only when the right to do so had been “conferred on him by the different Christian powers;” and that “the

Now, if words have any meaning, these words mean that while authority of jurisdiction as well as of orders is originally from God, the right to exercise that jurisdiction in definite places, in exterior courts, with coercive power and legal penalties is not from God but from the State. It is equally clear that it is not the former, but the latter power which the commissions contemplated, and that in this regard the Church of England stood, in the sixteenth century, on the same ground as any church which allowed ecclesiastical enactments and sentences to be enforced under civil sanctions and penalties. If in such churches ecclesiastical rulers did not, by such allowance, make themselves creatures of the State, no more did they in the Reformed Church of England.¹ Well, in-

power which he exercised under that authority, of course passed away, when those temporal princes who granted it chose to withdraw it." See Friedrich's "*Documenta*," etc., I. Abtheilung, p. 237.

¹ There are passages, too long for insertion, but directly to this point, in Bramhall's "*Just Vindication*," Works, pp. 77, 134, Ed. 1677.

deed, would it have been for the Church if, remembering that no power to inflict corporal punishments on offenders had been given her from God, she had never sought such power from the State. Well would it have been for her had no such power been given her; no punishments touching life or limb, personal freedom or property, been inflicted by her; no carnal weapons been placed in spiritual hands. But such a thought was in no man's mind in the sixteenth century.

While, however, what we have been considering shows that neither by Church nor parliamentary enactment was there any break with the past, but rather a very careful recurrence to the ancient usage of the realm, it is equally true that Henry VIII. perverted or overrode these statutes for his own selfish and tyrannical purposes. Still, law remains law however much perverted or overridden; and it is by it, and not by any illegal tyranny under it, that the English Reformation is to be tested. "Henry's later view of the royal supremacy" no doubt "appears to

have been that it contained within itself all the rights that had been claimed for the papal supremacy; but such a view was never recognized by any statute," nor by any subsequent practice. Both alike "restrict it to the restoration of the ancient regal jurisdiction."²

The King's chief agent in carrying out his purpose of overriding law and concentrating power in himself, was Thomas Cromwell. This man, after a roving life of varied adventure, became a member of Wolsey's household, serving that prelate "first as a steward, then as a solicitor, and lastly in that defence before the commons which laid the foundation of his own high fortunes."³ This is not the place for any detailed account of Wolsey's plans for the reformation of the clergy and laity of England. There are, however, two things that should be noticed because of their connection with the matter now in hand. First in carrying out his purpose of increasing the

² Blunt, "Reformation," p. 235.

³ Cavendish, "Life of Card. Wolsey," p. 170, note.

number of bishoprics in England and establishing colleges and professorships in the universities, Wolsey proposed to provide the requisite endowments by suppressing the smaller and some of the larger monasteries, and appropriating their revenues.

Next, in all his plans—whatever may be thought or said of them—he wrought first as Papal Legate, and, at last, as Vicar-General of the Pope, a post to which he was appointed in 1527.

A person, therefore, occupying as Cromwell did a position of trust and confidence in the Cardinal's household, must have become familiar with the idea of a vicar-generalship, and accustomed to the thought of the suppression of monasteries and diversion of their revenues. In entering on the service of Henry after he left that of his former master, with purpose, as he said, "to make or mar," these ideas and thoughts would naturally go with him; and we may, accordingly, without much hesitation, regard the institution of the Vicar-Generalship, and the treatment of the monas-

teries as directly due to him and to his training under Wolsey.

He became Vicar-General in 1535, and held the office till his fall in 1540. In his hands—the hands of an unscrupulous and time-serving man—the office became an instrument of oppression and wrong.⁴ But whatever it was made and however it was used, it was something thrust upon the Church from without, not developed from within. It was endured like any other affliction, but it was never accepted, nor was the Church, in any proper sense, responsible for it. It lasted for five years till he who held it fell, and it was never renewed. However succeeding sovereigns may have put, as we may say, the supremacy “into commission,” no one has ever tried the plan of Henry VIII. His Vicar-General is the only one that England has ever seen. The passing shadow cannot be said to be a part of that on which it merely fell.

⁴ Pole and Fox in their estimates of Cromwell illustrate the different views it is possible to take of the same character. The truth, as in most such cases, probably lies between the two.

The great line of practical operation on which the exercise of the vicar-generalship moved, brings up the visitation of the monasteries and their subsequent dissolution. Neither the visitation nor the dissolution of these institutions, however, so originated with Cromwell, as to be properly his own.

It had long been felt that reformation in this direction was essential. The number of the monasteries was excessive. The evils of multiplying them were recognized at the Lateran Council of 1215; but the papal interests, which the monastic and other religious orders served, were so potent, that the increase went on with little or no check. If it be true, as it has been estimated, that there was, at the time of our Reformation in England, one monastery or religious house to every three thousand souls, Wolsey's policy of diminishing their number is abundantly justified.

The enormous wealth, also, of institutions the members of which were under vows of poverty, was discreditable to them while it

was injurious to the country. The proportion of Church ownership of land to other ownership in England was, according to any estimate, astounding, and it was largely in the hands of conventual bodies. The Church property, according to some writers, comprised more than half of the landed estates of the realm;⁵ and the property of monasteries, at the Reformation era, covered from a tenth to a fifth of the soil of England. It surely is not necessary to suppose that all who might object to such an accumulation of wealth in institutions the members of which were to be the "poor of Christ," must necessarily have been covetous or seekers after spoil, any more than it is to believe that all this wealth had always been acquired by fraudulent and rapacious methods.

Again, these institutions were exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops, whose rights were, to that extent, annihilated; while the rights of the parochial clergy—scornfully called

⁵ Spelman, "Hist. of Sacrilege," Ed. 1853, p. 200. Turner's "Middle Ages," vol. v. p. 169.

by those who arrogated to themselves the title of *religious* the *seculars*—as well as of the universities were seriously interfered with. A General Council had, indeed, forbidden in terms, such exemption, and had also decreed that no monastery should be established in a diocese against the will of the diocesan.⁶ Associations, however, which, in their zeal for strict obedience, prefer to obey superiors of their own selection rather than the authorities which “God hath set in the Church,”⁷ will easily find methods by which canons can be overridden or evaded, as may be most convenient. In this case they had, also, the backing of the papal power.

Beside all this, and after making every allowance for malicious slanders and unfounded

⁶ Chalcedon, Canons IV. and VIII.

⁷ I Cor. xii. 28; comp. Eph. ii. 20, and iv. 11. These passages taken in connection with our Lord's words in John xv. 16, and xx. 21, together with the facts recorded in the Book of Acts, present the Scripture truth of the origin of the Christian Ministry, as against Dr. Newman's “development” theory on the one side, and the “natural selection” of Independency on the other.

exaggeration, the frightful corruption of morals in many of the monasteries must be admitted. I cannot quote the words of Nicolas de Clemanges and of Gerson, the one Rector and the other Chancellor of the University of Paris;⁸ but they are as severe as any words of Cromwell's agents. And when the Bishop of Worcester could write to Wolsey that he had "often been struck with the need in which monasteries stood of reformation, and that great care would be required in dealing with nunneries, as great abuses would be found in them";⁹ when Wolsey, writing to the King, could say that there were "exile [poor] and small monasteries wherein neither God is served nor religion kept,"¹⁰ we can surely reach only one conclusion.

More, perhaps, than all else, the monastic system was, at best, merely a human institution; and, even if no question is raised—

⁸ See Hardwick's "Middle Ages," p. 367.

⁹ DeGigliis: quoted by Blunt, p. 56.

¹⁰ "Three Chapters of Letters," etc. (Camden Society publications), p. 1.

as there well may be—touching the principles on which it was founded, there is sure to come “a point at which the best of human institutions cease to be a benefit to society, at least in the form in which they were originally founded.”¹ So it was in this instance. The system was out of joint with the entire condition of things in the sixteenth century.

Nor were precedents for suppression lacking. To say nothing of what Wolsey had done during his administration, the Knights Templars had been suppressed as far back as 1307, and a number of “alien priories” had shared the same fate in 1416.

When, however, from the abundant reasons for reformation and even suppression, we pass to what was actually done by Henry, acting through his Vicar-General, we can only condemn his methods and their results. I know that the Crown had, by English law, a right to all unowned or confiscated lands. I know that when possessions had been given to a

¹ Blunt, p. 280.

religious house, on certain defined conditions, then if those conditions ceased to be fulfilled, such possessions reverted to the donors or their heirs. I know that under those laws of the realm, part of the monastic property might have gone fairly to the Crown, and other portions to the families of founders. It is also true that, out of the spoils, six bishoprics were founded, five of which remain; that some monasteries became collegiate churches; that at least two hospitals were reserved for the poor; that many abbey churches became parish churches; and that some grammar schools were founded.²

Let all those abatements be made, and it still remains true that the methods of visitation and the acts of suppression were tyrannically cruel; that the disastrous appropriations of parochial revenues to monasteries (which

² Perry, "Eng. Ch. History," pp. 137, 138. In the thirty years preceding the Reformation more grammar schools were founded in England than in three previous centuries; afterwards they increased even more rapidly. Knight, "Life of Colet," pp. 90, 91.

made so many appropriated parishes sinks of neglect and sin), went unreformed, because the appropriation was chiefly made over to the Crown; and that Henry seized for himself and his minions what had been given—mistakenly no doubt in many cases, but still given—to the service of God. In the words of Burke, “the lion having sucked the blood of the prey, threw the carcass to the jackal in waiting.”³

But all this, I beg you to observe, did not touch the constitution of the *historic* Church of England. All this was done by men trained under other influences than those of the *Reformed* Church of England, and for whose characters—I repeat what has been said before—that Church is not responsible. And what was true then, let me say in closing, is true now. The sharpest and most sweeping confiscations of Church property which our own age has seen, in France, in Spain, in Italy, on this Western Continent, have been made in countries where for generations previous the

³ Letter to a noble Lord.

Roman Church held undisputed sway. The property of that Church is to-day safest from attack in lands like England and the United States, where she has neither trained the people nor shaped the laws.

LECTURE V.

DOCTRINE.

1

LOTTIE V.

1881

LECTURE V.

DOCTRINE.

I HAVE now considered, with perhaps more minuteness of detail than may be deemed necessary, the constitutional reform of the Church of England in the sixteenth century. My reason for this minuteness is, that the charges against the English Church of having broken the line of her historic continuity and violently separated herself from the past, and, consequently, of being a new *organization* dating only from the reign of Henry VIII., and not organically connected with that living and self-perpetuating *organism* which the Church of Christ is and must be, are mainly sustained by mistakes or misrepresentations touching this constitutional reform. It is not difficult, I think, to see why this is so. A Church which holds firmly the great historic creeds, without mutilation or addition, is un-

assailable in regard to doctrine, except on the ground that "the faith once given to the Saints" is not a deposit to be kept, but a germ to be developed. A Church whose offices of worship are linked by manifold ties with those of the far-off ages, retaining and reproducing original and essential elements and removing manifold incrustations, can hardly be attacked on that score without attacking, also, a good many other things which might better not be assailed. But if a break can be shewn to have been made in the historic continuity of the Church, involving an essential change in its constitution, then it may well be thought that every point has been gained. Moreover, "glittering generalities" of assertion in this regard, can only be met by those careful historical examinations and discriminations of which the majority of men are not over-patient⁴;

⁴ Dr. Newman, in his "Apologia" (App. p. 26), spoke with a good deal of contempt of "antiquarian arguments;" and afterwards (in a letter dated Aug. 5. 1868), explained himself thus: "On giving myself to consider the question [of Anglican Orders], I never have been able to arrive at anything higher than a *probable conclusion*, which is most unsatisfactory except to

which it is easy to sneer at as a mere piece of antiquarianism; and in which, as I have intimated, it is equally easy to make mistakes and misrepresentations do the work of historic fact and logical argument. So, on the one side, those whose purpose is to convict the Church of England of the guilt of schism from the continuous Church of Christ, and, on the other, those who desire to do away with all idea of the Church as a continuous and perpetuated organism, agree in asserting such a break with the past, and agree also in selecting the constitutional reforms of the sixteenth century as their chief points of attack.⁵ And

antiquarians, who delight in researches unto the past for their own sake." What Dr. Newman here pleases to call the *antiquarian*, is really nothing but the *historical* argument. If *moral* certainty based on such argument is not *probable* enough to be accepted, then surely human belief is shaken to its foundations and in a fair way to be destroyed. This, however, is only one out of many proofs of Dr. Newman's sceptical turn of mind. See, for the letter, Lee's "Orders of the Church of England," App. xx.

⁵ "Cranmer and his coadjutors aimed at nothing more earnestly than the preservation of the continuity of the Church. Shallow people now regard them as the conscious founders of a new sect." Haddan, "Remains," p. 382.

this, over and above the consideration that these reforms necessarily came first in time, is the reason why they have been dealt with so much at length.

Two other topics, indicated at the outset, remain; namely, Doctrine and Worship. The exigencies, however, of time and place permit me to deal only with the former; or at least with the latter only so far as it enters into the consideration of the former. Were it my purpose, as it is not, to present a historical view of the Anglican Reformation, such an omission would not be permissible. Since, however, my purpose has been to treat of principles and topics, selection among those becomes a necessity. And I select doctrine rather than worship, not only because of its intrinsic importance, but also for the reason that information on the last named subject is so abundant, and so easily accessible, that its omission makes what must, of necessity, be incomplete, less glaringly so than it would be were the alternative course adopted. The omission must not be understood as intimating

that our reform in worship is any less defensible than the reform in doctrine. Far from it. I believe it can be proved to what is tantamount to a demonstration, that (to say nothing of the Liturgy proper), "Rome has cast away her ancient offices while England alone has retained hers;" and that "with ourselves alone, at this day, there survives a public form which retains the characteristic outlines and essential organization of the ancient offices."⁶ The consolidation of these offices, taking the place of such an accumulation of them as that the earliest ones for the morning might be said overnight; the digesting of various uses into one uniform use for the whole realm; the clearing them of doctrinal errors; the omitting from them ceremonial usages, the multiplication of which obscured and made uncertain the central and essential act; the removal from them of "uncertain stories and legends," thereby making room for the continuous reading of the Scriptures; the translation of them into the vernacular English from

⁶ Burgon's "Letters from Rome," Letters x. xi. and xxv.

the Latin,—into which tongue Liturgies had been translated because their original Greek was no longer “understood of the people;” these things affect neither their structure nor their inherent character. And this is, in brief, what was done with them in the sixteenth century. With these few words, which, nevertheless, set forth what I believe to be a fair summary of the Anglican reform in worship, and, also, indicate its great results, I turn to the special topic now before us.

The first question that meets us is this: What was the condition of things in England in regard to doctrine at the time when our Reformation began to assert itself? And the immediate answer to the question is one for which we may well be thankful; the Catholic Faith as expressed in the historic creeds remained intact, at least in form. The Apostles’ Creed stood as it stands to-day. The Confession of Nicæa had nothing, expressly and in form, added to it. It begun and ended as we begin and end it now. There was appended to it nothing in the shape of those twelve arti-

cles which were added, under the authority of the Council of Trent and Pius IV., after 1564. The Athanasian Symbol, contained "in the Psalm *Quicumque vult*,"⁷ remained unchanged. So far no reform was needed, and so far no reform was attempted. It was no part of the purposes of our reformers "to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the very articles of the Catholic Faith of Christendom."⁸

It seems to me that the unvarying persistency with which this position has been maintained by our Reformed Church has not been sufficiently emphasized and insisted on. Perhaps one reason has been,—for half the troubles in the world of human thought arise from not distinguishing things that differ,—that writers, forgetting to discriminate among the matters handled during the progress of the Reformation, have laid down arbitrary periods as covering the entire work which really only cover certain distinct parts of it. The abolition of the papal jurisdiction was, indeed, com-

⁷ Art. I. of 1536.

⁸ 25 Henry VIII., c. 21.

pleted in the reign of Henry VIII. But the questions connected with the royal supremacy were not finally adjusted till the reign of Elizabeth.⁹ The same thing holds true of doctrine; which came to its settlement in the same reign. While as to the worship of the Church, our view must be extended over a much wider range, even to the Prayer Book of 1662.¹⁰ And

⁹ It is quite beside my purpose to speak of any after unsettlement of the Elizabethan settlement. Any such unsettlement has come rather from changes in the relations of Parliament and the Church than from any change in the relation of the Sovereign. So long as Hooker's celebrated *dictum* remained true, "there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England," parliamentary legislation for the Church might well enough be regarded as the act of a lay synod of the Church. But the moment this ceased to be true, then exclusion of subjects from parliament because they were not members of the English Church would certainly appear to be an invasion of their civil rights. And when this wrong was righted and they were admitted to parliament, then to subject the Church to the legislation of a body so constituted would as certainly appear to be an invasion of the Church's rights. It is a wretched process to right one wrong by creating another.

¹⁰ I am speaking, of course, only of the English Church. For America we come down to 1789.

yet, "the great theological documents of Henry's reign," which "only mark a stage in the progress of opinion, and a stage which underwent subsequently much modification," have sometimes been quoted as if they were of ultimate and conclusive authority for doctrine. And in the same way, "the precise stage of opinion and practice that happened to be reached during the half-dozen years of the unsettled reign of Edward VI.," are accepted as a standard, and even termed our "rightful inheritance"; whereas they only record the tenets of a transition period, and can no more be accepted as a standard, than "the precise point reached in the earlier reign."¹ In the matter of doctrine, we begin our survey, indeed, in the reign of Henry, but we reach our conclusions only in that of Elizabeth, and in the year 1571.

This is the period which I have in mind in speaking of the persistency with which our reformers kept always in the forefront of all doctrinal declarations, "the very articles of the Catholic Faith of Christendom."

¹ Haddan's "Remains," pp. 372, 373.

There appeared in the reign of Henry VIII. three doctrinal formularies with which the Church was directly concerned, and one which is really due to the King and Parliament only.² To this last I shall have occasion to refer hereafter. The Ten Articles of 1536, contain the first doctrinal utterances of the English Church after the abolition of the papal jurisdiction. They were put forth in consequence of representations, made by the Lower House in Convocation, touching errors "publicly preached, printed and professed"; while the detail of these errors shews that there were extreme opinions coming into prominence on the reforming side that required to be looked after as well as mediæval corruptions. Thus early are indications given of that double contest in which our Church

² I have not taken into account the XIII Articles of 1538 which exhibit the result of the Lutheran conferences of that year. Their chief historical interest centres in the fact that whatever passed from the Augsburg Confession into the Articles of 1552, passed through the medium of those Articles and not directly. See Hardwick, "Hist. of Articles," c. iv., and App. ii.

has all along been compelled to engage, that "double witness" which it has always been her duty to bear.

People have called her position in this regard a *Via Media*, as if she had taken up a process of paltering, trimming and dodging between two opposing parties. There is no truth in this view, and, therefore, the phrase is as unmeaning as it is misleading. It may declare a result, but it certainly does not indicate the process by which the result was reached. The principle adopted was that the Faith was to be kept "whole and undefiled"; whole as against subtractions, undefiled as against additions. But this, surely, is a positive ground, and not a plan of compromise. Besides, what a strange sort of compromise would that be which should bring on a joint attack—that has lasted for three centuries—from the very parties it was intended to conciliate! Such a notion may be the highest to which a political historian is able to rise, but it falls very far short of the truth.

Nor is the process which was really adopted, the line along which our reformers moved, open to the objection that it is merely negative. That is, surely, a very positive process by which attempted subtractions from the Faith are resisted. While the correction of additions and accretions is negative only in form and not at all in result. Those were wise words which Archbishop Laud spoke to his Jesuit opponent: "It is a mere calumny that we profess only a negative religion. True it is, and we must thank Rome for it, our confession must needs contain some negatives. . . . And in a corrupt time or place it is as necessary in religion to deny falsehood as to assert and vindicate truth; indeed this latter can hardly be well and sufficiently done but by the former; *an affirmative verity being ever included in the negative to a falsehood.*"³

To return to the Ten Articles. They were drawn up, as I have stated, by Convocation,

³ Laud's "Conference with Fisher," p. 128.

on the representations of the Lower House, and by the royal command. And the point to which I desire here to call special attention is, that the first article declares, that "the chief and principal articles of our faith" are "comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible and also in the three creeds or symbols;" and that those creeds are to be interpreted "according to the self-same sentence and interpretation, which the words of the self-same creeds or symbols do purport, and the holy approved doctors do entreat and defend the same." There is a reference also, not only to the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople, but to those of Ephesus and Chalcedon, "and all others sith that time *in any point consonant to the same.*" In these last words, you will observe, there is expressed a very important limitation of any action of councils subsequent to the four expressly named.

These words, and therefore the Article itself, clearly contain, by direct assertion or unquestionable implication, the following prop-

ositions. First, that all things necessary to be believed are contained in Holy Scripture; secondly, that these fundamental verities are summed up in the historic creeds, which are, therefore, capable of being "proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture;"⁴ thirdly, that the creeds are to be interpreted in a natural and not a non-natural sense, in other words, that their meaning must come out from them and not be imported into them; and fourthly, that the testimony of the "approved doctors of the Church" must sustain any affirmed interpretation.

Now, under these rules, questions of detail may, no doubt, arise. It may be asked, what books make up the Canon of Scripture? What is the proper wording of the creeds? What is the true signification of such and such phrases? But these, and many other possible questions, relate only to details, and leave the principles announced quite untouched. Nor have those principles (whatever changes in some details there may have

⁴ Article VIII. of the Thirty-nine.

been), been changed among us for more than three centuries and a half.⁵

⁵ The story of the publication of these Articles is curious. It illustrates the King's estimate of his own powers as a theologian and the way in which he tried to arrogate everything to himself. Cromwell, as Vicar-General and the royal mouth-piece, informed Convocation that though his majesty "by his excellent learning knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration but by the consent of you and of his whole parliament." One can imagine the Vicar-General uttering this precious bit of bragadocio. When, however, it comes to appear in the preface to the Articles, as published, it is softened down into a much more modest statement. "We have not only in our own person at many times taken great pains, study, labors and travails, but have also caused our bishops and other the most discreet and learned men of our clergy of this our whole realm, to be assembled in Convocation, *for the full debatement and quiet determination* of the same."

Then again, the title of the Articles as they left Convocation—the MS. is in the British Museum—was, "Articles about religion set out by the Convocation and published by the King's authority." But Henry garbled the title in the printing to read, "Articles devised by the King's Majesty," etc. He left, however, in the preface the above-quoted passage which convicts his self-made title of falsehood. The simple truth is that Convocation drew up the Articles, and they were then published by royal authority. They are no more the King's, even if he suggested some changes before final action, than the decrees of Nice are Constantine's. Lloyd's "Formularies," pp. xvi. 4. Jenkyns's "Cranmer," vol. i. p. xiv. ff. Hardwick's "Articles," etc., c. iii.

“The Institution of a Christian Man,” drawn up by a Commission of bishops and other divines appointed by the Crown, and published in 1537, and “The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man,” which was the work of Convocation in 1543, follow in the same line and begin with an exposition of the Apostles’ Creed; thus continuing the prominent position given to the one historic Faith. These are the Formularies of Henry’s reign.

In none of them, however, does the prominence come out so distinctly, in none of them is the Catholic Faith set forth with such fulness, as in the XLII Articles of 1552 and the XXXIX of 1562 and 1571.⁶ The last named of these formularies is more complete than the former, because it contains an Arti-

⁶ In the XI Articles, set forth by the Archbishops and Bishops in 1559, the first contains a profession of belief in the Holy Trinity, and the formulary falls, so far, into line with the other formularies mentioned. It was never, however, acted on synodically, and was merely an *ad interim*. In Ireland it continued in use till 1615.

cle concerning the Holy Ghost which did not appear in the formulary of 1552. In the first five Articles of 1562 not only are the definitions of Nicæa and Constantinople set forth, but those also of Ephesus and Chalcedon; and they contain, standing at the forefront of all else, a clear, balanced and exhaustive dogmatic statement touching the Trinity in Unity in its substance and its persons, and the person and natures of our Lord, His incarnation, passion and resurrection. The Church of England refused to consider any theological question from any other than that standpoint. "Before all things the Catholic Faith." So speaks our English Reformation.

Just here, let me say a word as to the Confessions and Formularies put forth, during this period, on the continent of Europe. There is a marked difference, in the characteristic now under consideration, between the Formularies of the Saxon school of Reformers and those of the Swiss school; a difference not without significancy. The former, largely shaped by Luther,—the Augsburg and Saxon Confessions

—much more nearly resemble our Formularies than the latter—the Helvetic and the Belgic,—which bear the impress of the mind of Calvin. The Augsburg is, indeed, fuller and more distinct than the Saxon Confession; yet it thrusts in between its declaration of the doctrine of the Trinity and its setting forth of the person and natures of our Lord, a view of original sin and its consequences, thus marring, so far, the unity and coherence of its statement of the Faith.⁷ On the other hand the Helvetic Confession relegates its continuous statement of the Faith to its preface, (where it quotes the Decree of Gratian Valentinian and Theodosius, and the Creed of Damasus), touches the doctrine of the Trinity only in its third article, and is silent as to the eternal generation of the Son, and the person and natures of Christ, till its eleventh article is reached. The Belgic Confession begins with a simple declaration of the existence and unity of God, proceeds to discuss various questions concerning Holy Scripture and our knowledge

⁷ The same peculiarity is observable in the XIII Articles of 1538.

of God, and has nothing to say about the Faith before its eighth article.⁸

Two things, then, are very observable in all these Formularies; the first,—about which no more need be said than has been said already—that the whole Faith, in its due order and completeness, is not made, as it was by our Reformers, the one unvarying standpoint from which all questions then under discussion were approached; the second, that these fundamental and settled verities are mixed up with questions and discussions of the hour, and are not kept in that position, not of prominence only, but of separation also, which is their due.

From all this only one result can follow. The time of its coming may be longer or shorter as circumstances may hasten or retard it. But sooner or later it assuredly will come, and will bring with it confusion and disaster. The Faith degraded to the level of human speculations, reasonings and conclusions, may be made, for a time, to give

⁸ See "*Sylloge Confessionum*," Oxford, 1804, and Augusti's, "*Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*," etc.

to them—at least apparently and in men's apprehension—somewhat of its own established certainty and changelessness. But this unnatural condition will never last. In time this action will be reversed. Men will cease to attribute the assured certainty of the settled Faith to these speculations, reasonings and conclusions. Nor will they stop there. They will carry back the uncertainties of these last named things to the Faith itself, they can do nothing else. And then, when the congeries of human opinions collapses and breaks up, how can it be otherwise than that the Faith should be involved in the common ruin? What can the result be but a "swept and garnished" house, ready to become the abode of those demons of denial and unbelief whose "name is Legion"? The story of human belief and unbelief is full of examples that illustrate this position. Look at England for the fifteen years preceding 1660. Look at France to-day, where ultramontaniam identifying itself, and all the loads it has laid upon the Faith, with Christianity, has carried Chris-

tianity with itself in its downfall, and brought so many persons to the conviction that if a man is not an ultramontane he must needs be an atheist. What, indeed, may not be in store for a Church which has overladen the Faith with such vast systems of belief, and taught people "that to believe in Christ" involves all such belief as well? Why should not the downfall of such systems of belief, a downfall which must come if ever truth is to triumph, "bury in its ruins the belief in Jesus" also?⁹

There is always a tendency in the human mind to separate one doctrine of the Faith, or one matter of opinion from its proper position and relations, to push it into undue prominence, and fill with it the field of vision. Questions as to God's sovereignty, or man's free-will, or human depravity, or Baptism, or the Eucharist, have thus been made, exclusively, topics for study and instruction. Other things have been passed by. And, therefore, even if the teaching has, in itself, been true—as it

⁹ Pusey's "Eirenicon," p. 242, ff.

has not always been—it has still been disastrous, -because it has violated, completely and shamefully, the great and divinely sanctioned law that we are to teach “according to the analogy of the Faith.”¹⁰ So men’s imaginations get mixed up with fundamental verities, and even truths are dislocated and distorted till they take on somewhat of the same character. To use the words of Bishop Andrewes, spoken, indeed, of a period later than the Reformation, but true then and true in our own time: “This is the disease of our age and the just complaint we make of it; that there hath been a good riddance of images; but for imaginations, they be daily stamped in great number, and instead of the old images, set up, deified and worshipped.”

Against all such ill-doing, the continuous

¹⁰ Rom. xii. 6, “that is,” says the Bp. of Lincoln, “according to the *general* symmetry and harmony of the *whole* body of Christian Doctrine and according to the *relation* or proportion (*ἀναλογία*) of each special doctrine preached to that entire body of doctrine.” See, also, Hooker, book iii. i. 5; and Bp. Andrewes, “Sermon on Worshipping Imaginations.”

action of our Reformers from 1536 to 1571 is a continuous protest. It has given to the Church of England with the National Churches founded by her and in communion with her, the glorious position of holding, and "holding forth," the "entire Faith such as our Lord left it with the Apostles, to evangelize the world." Some of her sons may have abandoned her position and their own plain line of duty. If they have, they have simply been unfaithful to their privileges and responsibilities. There may have been, there have been, those who were "suckled at her breast," and who yet "have written concerning her even as men might write that were hired to make a case against her, and by an adverse instinct in the selection of evidence, and a severity of construction such as no history of the deeds of man can bear, have often, too often in these last years, put her to an open shame." Faithless and froward children, we must remember, are no unwonted spectacles in families or churches. But oh! how many have there been in generations past, how many are there

now, who understand the full richness of this precious heritage; who comprehend the full glory of the position in which the Reformation placed the Church three centuries ago, a position which shall bring powers for service in the future that will overpass all possibilities of service in the past; and who, because of all this, are ready "unshrinkingly to devote themselves to defending within her borders the full and whole doctrine of the Cross, with that mystic symbol gleaming down on them from Heaven, now as ever showing forth its inscription, 'In this sign shalt thou conquer.'"¹

When we turn from this prominent exhibition of the one Catholic Faith which, thus far, we have been considering, to doctrines and opinions which were special topics for examination and discussion in the sixteenth century, we shall find the formularies of our reformation remarkable for their moderation. Archbishop Bramhall takes special note of this characteristic and presses it with ear-

¹ Gladstone, "On the Supremacy," p. 86, ff.

nestness and cogency. He makes "three conditions of a lawful reformation—just grounds, *due moderation*, and sufficient authority." And he says of the Romanists, "They fear our moderation more than the violent opposition of others."²

Possibly moderation is not a word much in favor in our day. And, no doubt, it may be used to designate tempers and methods that are the reverse of commendable. When it is made the synonym of indifference, carelessness, lukewarmness, cowardice, time-serving, or suchlike things, it can only be condemned. When, however, it is used to signify that temper of forbearance, that "reasonableness of dealing, wherein not strictness of legal right but consideration for one another is the rule of practice," that looking at a debatable question on all its sides, that willingness to modify "the unhuman absolute" of a relentless logic by the manifold limitations and conditions which that refuses to consider, then we reach the *ἐπιεικέσ* of St. Paul, of which he says,

² "Works," pp. 216, 957; Dublin, 1677.

"Let your moderation be known unto all men."³

There are, of course, large classes of persons who, influenced by various causes, will refuse to consider the distinctions here insisted on, and will reject any and all ideas of moderation in reform as unworthy and even contemptible. It is hardly worth while to attempt to enumerate these classes, or to go into a statement of the processes by which they reach their conclusions. However they may differ in other matters there are two things in which they agree. They always seek for the truth in one or the other of two extremes, and that by inferring "conclusion from conclusion, and projecting assumptions as if they were premises";⁴ and they are always ready to shelter themselves under the cover of that moderation the benefit of which they refuse to others and against which they so passionately pro-

³ The word is not from *ἐνιω*, to yield, but from *ἐκιδόσ*, that which is becoming. See Alford and Wordsworth on Phil. iv. 5, and I Tim. iii. 3.

⁴ Liddon's "Speech on the late Bishop of Brechin."

test. What was commended by such men as Hooker, Saravia, Bramhall, Hammond, and Sanderson can, however, hardly be treated as a cowardly devise of self-seeking time-servers.⁵

This moderation appears in a very striking form when we contrast the Decrees of Trent with our Articles of Religion. In the former all canons of doctrine, in which so many mediæval speculations are solidified, end with an *Anathema*. Of these there are no less than one hundred and forty-one! And they reach down even to those who question the canonicalness of the Apocrypha or print works that have not been duly examined and approved. One may be pardoned for involuntarily recalling the words of the Psalmist, "He clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment."⁶

On the other hand, in our Articles, whether

⁵ See the passages, with many others, in Puller's "Moderation of the Church of England," c. xvi.

⁶ "Whoever incurs an anathema, is cut off from the communion of the faithful; is regarded as outside the way of salvation and in a *state of damnation*; nor may any of the faithful have any intercourse with him," Bergier, "*Dictionnaire de Theologie*."

those of 1552 or of 1562 and '71, there is but one anathema; and that one is taken from Holy Scripture. It is an echo of St. Paul's words in the Epistle to the Galatians, where he says of man or angel who shall preach a Gospel different from that which he has preached (resting salvation on "works of law" and not on the grace of God in Jesus Christ), "let him be anathema."⁷ The XVIIIth Article, in which this single anathema occurs, deals with the same utter subversion of the Gospel which St. Paul condemns, and simply repeats his words.⁸

⁷ Gal. i. 8, 9.

⁸ The careful wording of the Article deserves notice. It does not at all assert, absolutely, that no man *can* or *will* be saved in "the law or sect which he professeth," but that he cannot be saved by what he *does in it*, without regard to the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. This was the error which, in regard to the Mosaic Law, the false teachers enforced upon the Galatians. It may be further observed, that the moderation of the English Church appears in later formularies; in the Convocation Book, where the strongest condemnation is expressed in the words "he doth greatly err," and in the Canons of 1603-4, fifteen of which (out of the one hundred and forty-one) impose, indeed, excommunication; but there is nowhere any anathema.

Besides this general moderation in temper, there is also a noticeable moderation in statement touching points in controversy in the sixteenth century. There are two documents, one belonging to the reign of Henry VIII. and another which appeared late in the reign of Elizabeth, that very strikingly, though by contrast, illustrate this assertion. The former of these documents was drawn up in the interests of what we should now call Romanism, the other in the interests of Calvinism. Both are worth examining. They indicate the two great disturbing elements in the English Reformation.

There must, of course, from the beginning, have been those who opposed reform in England. They may be roughly, but I think sufficiently, classified as follows: those who deprecated any change whatever, those who accepted the abolition of the papal jurisdiction but would have stopped with that, and those who acquiesced in the Ten Articles and the Institution, but would have gone no further. Here, obviously, is the nucleus, perhaps even

more, of a reactionary party. Various things and events contributed to swell the numbers of such a party and increase its power. The anarchical teachings of anabaptists and other sectaries, the jealousies occasioned by the conferences with continental reformers, especially the visit of the "German orators" in 1538, the dissolution of the monasteries, sympathy for Katharine of Aragon and the Princess Mary, the passing of the Act of Succession and the executions of More and Fisher; these, and other things that need not be mentioned, helped to build up a party of reaction. Henry must have given it his sympathy; for the document in which reaction culminated is said to have been carried through Parliament by the personal presence and influence of the King himself.

The Act was passed in 1539, and was known as the Six Articles, or, more familiarly the Six-stringed Whip. These are due to the King and the Parliament. They were not drawn up by Convocation, and only received from that body a formal sanction. "It was a new

Heresy Act, proceeding *not from the Church*, though sanctioned as to doctrine by the Southern Convocation; but from Parliament, at the commandment of the King, and on the instance of a layman.”⁹

⁹ Dixon, “History,” etc. vol. ii. p. 122. The history of the Act is not a little perplexed. It would seem that in April 1539, the Lord Chancellor, Audley, stated to Parliament the King’s desire that “diversity of religious opinions should be banished from his dominions,” together with a proposal that a committee of the Upper House should be appointed “to examine opinions and to report their decisions to the whole Parliament.” This Committee was appointed on May 5th, and consisted of the Vicar-General, and twelve or eight bishops—accounts differ. The Vicar-General left the discussion to the prelates, who came to no agreement in regard to the six questions submitted to them; which were drawn up by the King himself, and undoubtedly contained the embryo if not the matter of the Six Articles. After ten days’ delay, the disagreement of the prelates was announced, and the Duke of Norfolk laid the six questions before the House of Lords, with the *mot d’ordre*, “Let the matters in dispute be determined openly and freely in full Parliament; and let a penal statute be passed,” etc. A debate followed: on the third day of which the King appeared in person, and took part in the discussion in favor of the proposed Act. Then, on May 23d, a Committee of the bishops was appointed to confer with the King and yielded to him at last. Upon this, two committees were appointed to draw up two forms of a statute, one of which should be passed by Parliament. The

The "ferocious penalties" inflicted by the act I need not state, because I am not writing its history, but calling attention to the

King, however, appears to have finally drawn up the statute himself; and it was passed, after some additions by the Commons, in June.

"Meanwhile," says Mr. Blunt, "the six questions had been submitted, on June 2d, to a *pro formâ* meeting of Convocation [the Southern], in which the prolocutor was the only member of the Lower House present, and they were all answered in the affirmative." On the other hand Canon Perry asserts, that "the Convocation of Canterbury was consulted on the six points, and answered them all affirmatively: Bishops Latimer and Shaxton, Doctors Crome and Tailour being dissentient."

Whichever of these accounts is correct, Convocation, and therefore the Church, is not responsible for the matter or the form of the Six Articles. If it acted only *pro formâ*, as Mr. Blunt says, it did not really act at all. If it did formally accept foregone conclusions and definitions, they were only forced upon it, and did not proceed from it.

Mr. Blunt thinks that Cranmer voted for the Act. "Reformation," p. 475. Dr. Hook takes the same view. "Lives," etc. New Series, vol. ii. p. 46. But it is worth while to compare Todd's statements in his "Life of Cranmer," vol. i. p. 272, ff; and what Cranmer himself said to the Devonshire rebels, and in his answer to Gardiner, Jenkyns's "Remains," vol. ii. p. 212; iii. p. 366. The Act was mitigated in 1543, and finally repealed in the first year of Edward VI.

immoderate and excessive form of its statements. Its six provisions embraced the annihilation of the elements in the Eucharist; the sufficiency, *by the law of God*, of communion in one kind; the forbidding *by the same law*, of marriage to priests; the obligation of vows *by the same law*; private masses to be continued as agreeable *to God's law*; auricular confession to be retained as expedient and necessary. A balder, harsher, more extreme statement of the doctrines maintained—with the exception, perhaps, of the last—cannot be imagined. There is an unrelenting exactness in it which may commend itself to those who clamor for definitions of everything, but which is an outrage on Scripture, antiquity, and right reason itself.

So much for the first document, let me now speak of the second; the one put forth in the interests of Calvinism, fifty-six years later on, the Lambeth Articles of 1595. Its history is an important one, and it requires something in the way of preface.

There is not the smallest evidence that

those five opinions—mostly metaphysical speculations—which are known as the Five points of Calvinism, had attracted any special attention in England when the “Ten Articles” of 1536 and the “Institution” of 1537 appeared. They could not have been much in men’s minds, for Calvin’s “Institutes” were not published till 1536, and time enough had not elapsed before the above-named formularies were issued for his speculations to have gained much influence. In neither formulary do we find any trace of them. Predestination and reprobation are not so much as mentioned, and all the other parts of Calvin’s system are distinctly contradicted. The Six Articles of 1539 are, indeed, not unlike Calvin’s five, in severity of temper and excess of definition, but the two formularies have nothing else in common.

When we come, however, to the “Necessary Erudition,” in 1543, it becomes obvious that those who drew up that Formulary had Calvin’s system in their minds; and it is equally obvious that they intended to reject it. I cannot quote passages at length. But no man can

read that work, and not see that the severest and most repulsive doctrines of Calvin are denied in it, and denied not only pointedly, but with a certain degree of sharpness.

This brings us to the Forty-two Articles of 1552, and the Thirty-nine of 1562 and '71. Lord Chatham's thread-bare jest—which speaks more for his skill as an epigrammatist than for his knowledge of Theology—that “the Church of England had a Popish liturgy, a Calvinistic creed, and an Arminian clergy,” has, probably, shaped a good many peoples' opinions concerning these Articles. And we must admit, that if articles drawn up principally by four persons,¹⁰ not one of whom was a Calvinist; articles which distinctly deny or pointedly omit every point of Calvinism, unless we except the single one of election to life; which state that one point in language that is not Calvinistic, accompanying it with two cautions

¹⁰ Cranmer, Latimer, Hooper and Ridley. See Hardwick's “History of the Articles,” c. v. As for Hooper, See Bishop Bull's “*Harmonia Apostolica*,” Works, vol. iv. pp. 448, 453, 454, 457.

which no Calvinist can accept, and two canons of interpretation which dismiss the Calvinistic theory to the regions of abstract, presumptuous and profitless speculation; that if such articles can fairly be called Calvinistic, then those we are considering can. But they can be so termed on no other grounds and in no other way. So matters stood at the death of Edward VI.

The accession of Mary drove many of the reforming party to the Continent. When these returned, in the reign of Elizabeth, many of them had abandoned the principles and doctrines of the English Reformation, and imbibed the views of the reformers of the Continent touching the Constitution the Doctrine and the worship of the Church, and more especially the theories of Calvin,—that Protestant scholasticism which took the place of the mediæval scholasticism in so many minds. Things came to a head when two members of the University of Cambridge preached against this foreign importation, and defended the plain assertions of the Articles of Religion. From the

controversy that ensued, came forth the Lambeth Articles of 1595, bristling all over with the freshly burnished points of Calvinism, "like quills upon the fretful porcupine;" a Formulary, concerning the statements of which Archdeacon Hardwick says, "We must despair of connecting them with the authorized Articles of Religion by any of the ordinary processes of thought." Frigid and cruel as arctic cold, that Formulary never acquired any synodical or other authority in the English Church. But it remains an instructive witness to that itch for definition which, even more than the itch of disputation is the veritable *Scabies Ecclesiæ*.¹ While, however, this system, as a system, was rejected, we must not forget the moderation that was shewn in dealing with the great underlying truths which it attempted to deal with metaphysically; the truths of God's Sovereignty in grace on the one side, and man's free-will on the other. "The Eru-dition" of 1543 sums up the matter in words

¹ "*Pruritus disputandi*"—said Sir Henry Wotton—*Scabies Ecclesiæ*.

of golden wisdom which do not seem to have been forgotten: "All men be also to be monished, and chiefly preachers, that in this high matter, they, looking on both sides, so attemper and moderate themselves, that neither they so preach the grace of God that they take away free-will, nor, on the other side, so extol free-will that injury be done to the grace of God."² Chrysostom or Augustine need have asked no more than this.

Let me now call attention to an instance which shows that this moderation, of which I have been speaking, was in no way incompatible with the clearest assertion of a truth which was believed to have been invaded in a way that had disturbed what we may call the balance of doctrine. In the years 1550 and 1551 there was a controversy between Archbishop Cranmer and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, touching the Holy Eucharist. In the

² The style of "The Institution" has often been remarked upon. Froude says: "In point of language it was beyond question the most beautiful composition which had yet appeared in English prose." "History," vol. iii. p. 229, Am. Ed.

course of it Cranmer continually accuses his adversary of depraving the doctrine of Baptism and lowering the grace conveyed by it. No one can read Cranmer's final answer to Gardiner without seeing how he constantly recurs to and presses this charge. "This your saying is no small derogation to Baptism; You diminish here the effect of Baptism; blasphemous words against the Sacrament of Baptism;" in such expressions Cranmer reiterates his accusation that the primitive doctrine of Baptism had been depraved and derogated from in the interests of transubstantiation.

Turn now to the Baptismal Office of 1552, and fix your eye on the exhortation and thanksgiving that immediately follow the baptismal act. They appear then for the first time. You will not find them in the Book of 1549. And, I doubt not, they were inserted because of that "diminishing of the effect of Baptism" to which the advocates of transubstantiation have ever been prone, and as a protest against the exaltation of one sacrament

at the expense of the other. Strange that in our day words so inserted, and with such obvious purpose, should have been condemned as essentially and hopelessly Romish!³

I find my final illustration of the characteristic of our Reformation in its treatment of questions connected with the other sacrament, the Holy Eucharist.⁴ The moment we ap-

³ One of the earliest instances of the confusion of regeneration with conversion is found in the Council of Trent! In the Decree concerning Original Sin—passed at the fifth Session in 1546—it is said: "This concupiscence, which the Apostle sometimes calls sin, the holy synod declares that the Catholic Church has never understood to be called sin, as being truly and properly sin in those *born again*," etc. In the debates preceding the decree, Bertano asserted that the words *born again* were used purposely instead of *baptized*, because a person might be baptized without being *really born again*. Pallavicini, "History," etc. book vii., c. ix.; compare Jarvis, "Answer to Milner." The Socinian Formula, known as the Racovian Catechism (published in 1609), asserts that "regeneration is nothing but the transformation of our mind and will and composure of them to the doctrine of our Saviour Christ, as the very word doth intimate." J. J. Blunt, "Right Use of the Early Fathers," p. 427.

⁴ To those familiar with the work it is needless to mention my indebtedness, in what follows, to Archdeacon Freeman's "Principles of Divine Service," vol. ii. part i.

proach that great mystery of our religion, we find ourselves in the presence of two truths, about which for eight centuries at least—probably for a longer period—there was almost no controversy in the Church. The one truth is that the Bread as blessed broken and taken is, in some way, the Body of the Lord broken,—and the Wine, over which thanks were given, is, in some way the Blood of the Lord shed,—in sacrifice. The other truth is that the Bread and Wine remain in their own proper nature as Bread and Wine.

Now this assertion of two truths to be held together, and possibly without the power of solving the mystery of their connection, is not something which is peculiar to the Eucharist. To say nothing of instances that might be adduced from the laws and phenomena of our own physical and spiritual being, we find two—to name no more—which are precisely parallel in revelation. We find asserted, on the one side, the Unity of the Godhead in its essence, and, on the

other, the Trinity of Persons. And again, we find asserted, on the one side, the sovereignty of God in grace as well as nature, and, on the other, the free-will of man. The parallelism of these instances with that of the Eucharist is apparent from their statement.

Now, under these circumstances, three courses of procedure are open to us. We may content ourselves with simply holding both truths without attempting to reconcile, or bring them into one, by any processes of human reasoning; and then we follow the implied counsel of the Hebrew lawgiver, "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God, but those things which are revealed belong unto us."⁵ We may drop one of the two truths and retain the other; so Tritheism did when it dropped the truth of the Oneness of the Divine Nature, and so Sabellianism did, when it dropped the truth of the Tripersonality. Or, lastly, we may set ourselves about the task, beyond the power of human reason, of constructing a theory

⁵ Deut. xxix. 29.

that shall reconcile to our understandings the two truths which we have not been bidden to reconcile but only to hold; so Calvinism set itself to reconcile, by metaphysical processes, God's sovereignty and man's free-will, and ended by practically denying the latter. The same attempted reconciliation of two co-existent truths has been the originating cause of almost all the controversies about the Eucharist; which have largely ended, as all such controversies are likely to end, in the denial of one truth or the other; in the "grosser forms or subtler refinements of the Papal solution" on the one hand, or the "cold naturalism of the Zwinglian theory" on the other.⁶

We must not, however, forget that while neither of the two truths thus revealed can destroy the other, "each does, nevertheless, of necessity affect, in a *negative* way, the *manner* in which the other exists or has place." The Unity of the Godhead holds back, so to speak,

⁶ See Bishop Wilberforce's "Charge," in 1854, p. 55; "Words of Counsel," xvii.

the Tripersonality from becoming Tritheism. The Trinity of persons holds back the Unity of the Godhead from becoming a denial of the Tripersonality. The grace of God—to recur to the other instance cited—must not take away the free-will of man, nor the free-will of man do injury to the grace of God. In other words two such truths, and therefore the two touching the Eucharist, must be held in balance.

Now, this balance was just what the centuries-long controversy concerning the Eucharist had disturbed, by the attempt to explain and define to the satisfaction of human reason what God's Word had not explained, and the early Church had not defined. Whatever result was reached by this attempt, the process was essentially a rationalistic one. The speculations which end in transubstantiation are just as rationalistic in their character as those which issue in the Zwinglian theory. And the wisest and truest Reformation is to put things back to where they were before those disastrous speculative processes

had begun. And this, I contend, was what our Reformation did, not all at once but by "just degrees."⁷ That the balance shook and trembled somewhat before it settled is not wonderful, nor is it to the purpose. Nor are we specially concerned with the varying opinions of individuals. The result is what we ask for. Not many words will be needed in stating it.

I turn first to the words used in the delivery of the elements. We find in the Prayer Book of 1549, the first half only of our present formula. This embodies the first of the two truths above named and might—not fairly—be considered as excluding the second. We find, again, in the Book of 1552, the last half only of our present formula, embodying the second truth, by making the "reception of the Body and Blood of Christ, not ordinary and physical but spiritual and heavenly." And this might

⁷ "It was the speech of a wise Bishop, concerning too sudden a convert, 'I do not well like a man that tells me so presently he hath changed a *whole religion* at once.'" Puller, "Moderation of the Church of England," p. 274.

be regarded—not fairly again—as excluding the first truth. But in the Book of 1559, we find both formulas combined—as we have them now, and so the two truths are brought together. Men may call this a compromise if they will: as, indeed, those who plant themselves within the narrow limits of mere partisanship will be sure to do. Those, however, who will not be content to echo the words of some single master, and can rise to the higher wisdom of a wise humility will see more than a mere compromise; will see the determination to bring two settled truths together in a balanced union, and a refusal to divorce them in separated assertions. In precise accordance with this settlement, this restoration of a disturbed balance, are the words of the XXVIIIth Article of Religion; which against the rationalism of Transubstantiation—condemned also in terms—assert that “the Body of Christ is given, taken and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner;” and against the rationalism of Zwinglianism declare, “that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, re-

ceive. . . the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." Thus the two truths are asserted, and left where they were left by the early and undivided Church.

I claim, therefore, for our English Reformation what the great Bramhall claimed; the three conditions of "just grounds, sufficient authority, due moderation." No human work indeed is perfect. But the results of that work have stood the test of time, and are, in their old age, bringing forth more and nobler fruits for God and man.

As I come to the close of these lectures, I desire to repeat what I said at the beginning. It has not been my plan, nor would it have been in my power, to do more than select from the mass of topics which the English Reformation offers for study, those which bring to view the great principles acted on, the methods adopted, the agents employed, and the dangers incurred; to clear away some misleading side issues and irrelevancies; and to

correct some popular but unfounded misapprehensions and misrepresentations. This was all that was hoped for; it is more, perhaps, than has been accomplished.

And now as I look back on that eventful period, and forward from that period to the present, I stand in reverent awe and thankful adoration before the vision of the overruling and protecting hand of God, and recognize His seal upon the work, His living power in its outcomes. I see our favored Church preserved from becoming a sect bearing the impress and the name of any single leader. I see it doing its work on principles that, with whatever failure in individuals or single acts, have stood the tests of time. I see it checked when a check was needed, and the check removed when it would have worked to evil. I see it saved from the grasping tyranny of Henry even while it was freed from a foreign usurpation; held back from the danger of unsettling foundations under his successor, by the accession of Mary; drinking under her the cup of trial and suffering; baptized with the

baptism of fire and blood; driven to foreign lands or crushed at home; with the papacy and all which that word implies imposed upon it, and all the previous work, to human seeming, utterly undone.

Then, looking on, I see it restored under Elizabeth with its voice of witness and of worship heard in the land again, and its apostolic line continued. I see its exiles hastening home, too many bringing with them alien beliefs and sympathies, which in coming time will rend the Church within and raise up an unresting enemy without. I see all the strength of the papacy, and all the power of the mightiest realm in Europe hurled against it in the great Armada, which the Lord scattered with the breath of His mouth. Looking still onward into another century, I see that other foe striving for the destruction of our Church, and apparently accomplishing its purpose. I see its altars overthrown, its churches despoiled, its clergy scattered, its services silenced till they are audible nowhere in the face of day, save in the chapel of the wander-

ing Charles's ambassador in Paris.⁸ Still looking on, I see it restored to its old homes and ancient honors to the reversal of all human expectations. I see it, in still later days, no longer in danger from without, but tried with the greater dangers of coldness, apathy, worldliness, and time serving from within. And then I see it as it is to-day, rising to a nobler, fuller life, stretching out from its isolation in "Britain severed from the world" to every continent and the islands of the sea; speaking a language that seems likely to be to the world in coming days what the Greek was at the Lord's first coming, and yet giving to the nations where it goes God's Word and worship in their own several tongues; carrying every-

⁸ Evelyn's "Diary," vol. i. p. 337 (Colburn, 1854). He says, "In various controversies both with papists and sectarians, our divines used to argue for the visibility of the Church from his [Sir Thomas Browne's] chapel and congregation." Still he did not lose heart. And later on, in 1685, when things looked dark Romeward, he wrote, "I am most confident that the doctrine of the Church of England will never be extinguished, but remain visible, *if not eminent*, to the consummation of the world," vol. ii. p. 239.

where the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers. Is it not God's doing all this? Could man alone ever have accomplished it? Do not the pulses throb and the heart swell at all these tokens of God's immediate presence? Are not cowardice, distrust, despondency, rebuked? Are we not forced to say, whatever may be our anxieties and forebodings concerning present troubles,

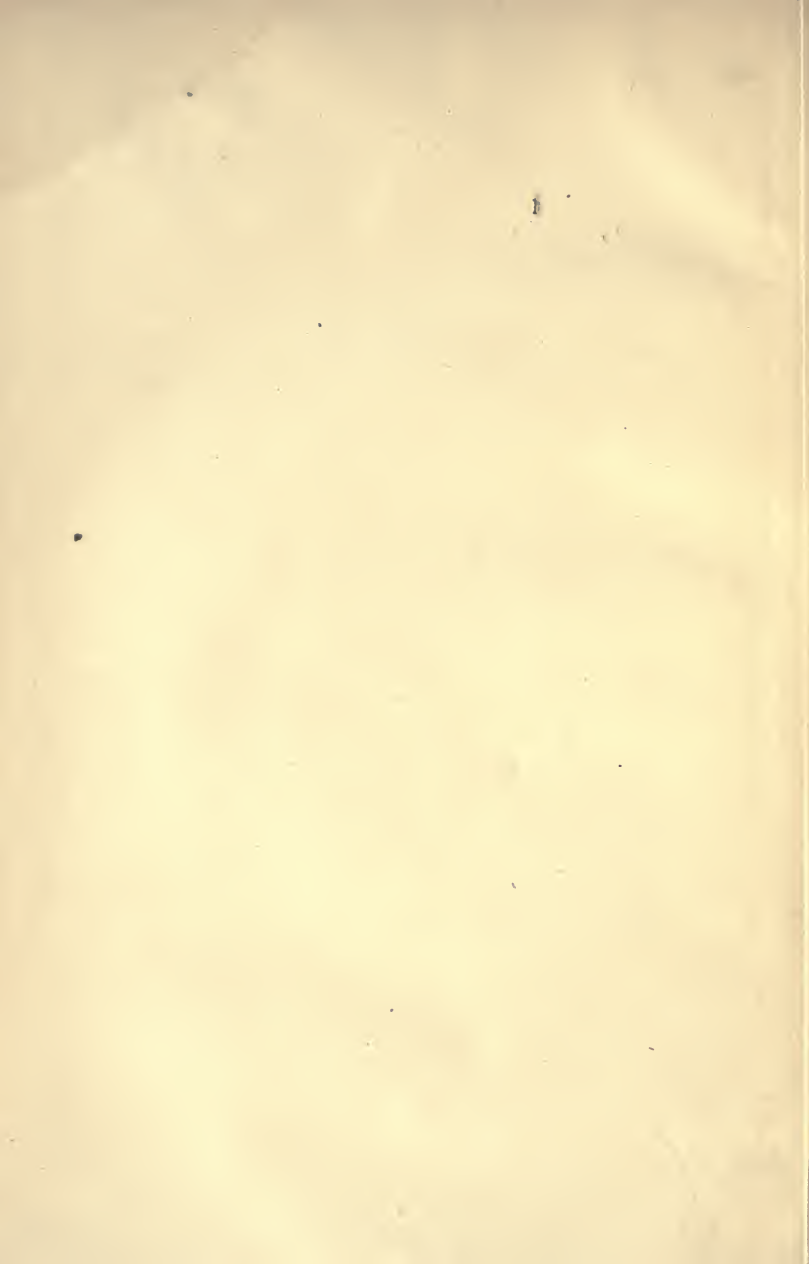
"Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and though the hills be carried into the midst of the sea;

"Though the waters thereof rage and swell, and though the mountains shake at the tempest of the same.

"The rivers of the flood thereof shall make glad the city of God; the holy place of the tabernacle of the Most Highest.

"God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed; God shall help her, and that right early."







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